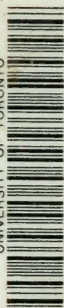


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THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right-Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of England, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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Κηρυξ ἐς ἀστὴρ. Thucyd.

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

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VOL. XI.

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THE

History of the Rebellion, etc.

B O O K XIV.

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Job xx. 19. 22.

*Because he hath oppressed and hath forsaken the Poor;  
because he hath violently taken away a House which  
he built not:*

*In the fulness of his sufficiency he shall be in straits;  
every hand of the wicked shall come upon him.*

Job xxvii. 15.

*Those that remain of him shall be buried in death, and  
his Widows shall not weep.*

---

**H**AD not God reserved the Deliverance and Restoration of the King to Himself, and resolved to accomplish it when there appeared least hope of it, and least worldly means to bring it to pass; there happened at this time another very great Alteration in England, that, together with the continuance of the War with Holland, and Affronts every day offered to France, might very reasonably have administered great hopes to the King of a speedy change of Government there. From the time of the defeat at Worcester, and the reduction of Scotland and Ireland to perfect Obedience, Cromwell did not find the Parliament so supple to observe his Orders, as he expected

B O O K  
XIV.



**B O O K** they would have been. The Presbyterian Party;  
**XIV.** which he had discountenanced all he could, and made his Army of the Independent Party, were bold in contradicting him in the House, and crossing all his designs in the City, and exceedingly inveighed against the Licence that was practised in Religion, by the several Factions of Independents, Anabaptists, and the several Species of these; who contemned all Magistrates, and the Laws established. All these, how contradictory soever to one another, *Cromwell* cherished and protected, that he might not be over-run by the Presbyterians; of whom the time was not yet come that he could make use: yet he seemed to show much respect to some principal Preachers of that Party; and consulted much with them, how the distempers in Religion might be composed.

Though he had been forward enough to enter upon the War of *Holland*, that so there might be no Proposition made for the Disbanding any part of his Army, which otherwise could not be prevented, yet he found the expense of it was so great, that the Nation could never bear that addition of burden to the other of Land-Forces; which how apparent soever, he saw the Parliament so fierce for the carrying on that War, that they would not hearken to any reasonable Conditions of Peace; which the *Dutch* appeared most solicitous to make upon any terms. But that which troubled him most, was the jealousy that his own party of Independents, and other Sectaries, had contracted against him: that Party, that had advanced him to the height he was at, and made him superior to all opposition, even his beloved *Vane*,

thought his Power and Authority to be too great for a Common-wealth, and that He, and his Army, had not dependance enough upon, or submission to the Parliament. So that he found those who had exalted him, now most solicitous to bring him lower; and he knew well enough what any diminution of his Power and Authority must quickly be attended with. He observed, that those his old Friends very frankly united themselves with His and Their old Enemies, the Presbyterians, for the prosecution of the War with *Holland*, and obstructing all the Overtures towards Peace; which must, in a short time, exhaust the Stock, and consequently disturb any settlement in the Kingdom.

B O O K  
XIV.

In this perplexity he resorts to his old remedy, his Army; and again erects another Council of Officers, who, under the Style, first, of Petitions, and then, of Remonstrances, interposed in whatsoever had any relation to the Army; used great importunity for “the Arrears of their pay; that they might not be compelled to take free Quarter upon their fellow Subjects, who already paid so great Contributions and Taxes; which they were well assured, if well managed, would abundantly defray all the Charges of the War, and of the Government.” The sharp Answers the Parliament gave to their Addresses, and the reprehensions for their presumption in meddling with matters above them, gave the Army new matter to reply to; and put them in mind of some former professions they had made, “that they would be glad to be eased of the Burden of their employment; and that there might be successive Parliaments to under-

Cromwell  
erects another  
Council of  
Officers; who  
expostulate  
with the Par-  
liament about  
their Arrears,  
and their own  
Dissolution.



BOOK

XIV.

“ go the same trouble They had done.” They therefore desired them, “ that they would remember how many years they had sat; and though they had done great things, yet it was a great injury to the rest of the Nation, to be utterly excluded from bearing any part in the Service of their Country, by their ingrossing the whole power into Their hands; and thereupon besought them, that they would settle a Council for the administration of the Government during the Interval, and then dissolve themselves, and Summon a new Parliament; which, they told them, “ would be the most popular Act they could perform.”

These Addresses in the Name of the Army, being confidently delivered by some Officers of it, and as confidently seconded by others who were Members of the House, it was thought necessary, that they should receive a solemn debate, to the end that when the Parliament had declared its resolution and determination, all Persons might be obliged to acquiesce therein, and so there would be an end put to all Addresses of that kind.

The Parliament debate about the period of their sitting.

There were many Members of the House, who either from the justice and reason of the Request, or seasonably to comply with the sense of the Army, to which they foresaw they should be at last compelled to submit, seemed to think it necessary, for abating the great Envy, which was confessedly against the Parliament throughout the Kingdom, that they should be dissolved, to the end the People might make a new Election of such Persons as they thought fit to trust with their Liberty and Property, and whatsoever was



dearest to them. But Mr. *Martyn* told them, "that he  
 " thought they might find the best Advice from the  
 " Scripture, what they were to do in this particular :  
 " that When *Moses* was found upon the River, and  
 " brought to *Pharaoh's* Daughter, she took care that  
 " the Mother might be found out, to whose care he  
 " might be committed to be nursed ; which succeeded  
 " very happily." He said, " their Common-wealth  
 " was yet an Infant, of a weak growth, and a very  
 " tender constitution; and therefore his opinion was;  
 " that no body could be so fit to nurse it, as the Mo-  
 " ther who brought it forth ; and that they should not  
 " think of putting it under any other hands. until it  
 " had obtained more years and vigor." To which he  
 added, " that they had another Infant too under their  
 " hands, the War with *Holland* ; which had thrived  
 " wonderfully under their Conduct; but he much  
 " doubted that it would be quickly strangled, if it  
 " were taken out of their care who had hitherto  
 " governed it."

B O O K  
 XIV.  
 Harry Mar-  
 tyn's Applica-  
 tion of the  
 story of Moses  
 to this pur-  
 pose.

These Reasons prevailed so far, that, whatsoever  
 was said to the contrary, it was determined, that the  
 Parliament would not yet think of Dissolving, nor  
 would take it well, that any Persons should take the  
 presumption any more to make Overtures to them of  
 that Nature, which was not fit for private and parti-  
 cular Persons to meddle with: and to put a Seasonable  
 stop to any farther presumption of that kind, they  
 appointed a Committee "speedily to prepare an Act  
 " of Parliament for the filling up of their House; and  
 " by which, it should be declared to be High-Trea-  
 " son, for any Man to propose, or contrive the

The Parlia-  
 ment deter-  
 mined, that  
 they would  
 not yet think  
 of Dissolving.

B O O K “ changing of the present Government settled, and  
XIV. “ established. ”

This Bill being prepared by the Committee, they resolved to pass it with all possible expedition. So *Cromwell* clearly discerned, that by this means they would never be persuaded to part with that Authority and Power, which was so profitable, and so pleasant to them: yet the Army declared they were not satisfied with the Determination, and continued their Applications to the same purpose, or to others as unagreeable to the sense of the House; and did all they could to infuse the same Spirit into all the parts of the Kingdom, to make the Parliament odious, as it was already very abundantly; and *Cromwell* was well pleased that the Parliament should express as much prejudice against the Army.

All things being thus prepared, *Cromwell* thought this a good season to expose these Enemies of Peace to the indignation of the Nation; which, he knew, was generally weary of the War, and hoped, if that were at an end, that they should be eased of the greatest part of their Contributions, and other Impositions: thereupon, having adjusted all things with the Chief-Officers of the Army, who were at his Devotion, in the Month of *April*, that was in the year 1653, he came into the House of Parliament in a Morning when it was sitting, attended with the Officers, who were likewise Members of the House, and told them, “ that he “ came thither to put an end to their Power and Au- “ thority; which they had managed so ill, that the “ Nation could be no otherwise preserved than by “ their Dissolution; which he advised them, without “ farther Debate, quietly to submit unto. ”

*Cromwell and  
his Officers  
dissolve the  
Parliament.*

Thereupon another Officer, with some Files of Musqueteers, entered into the House, and stayed there till all the Members walked out; *Cromwell* reproaching many of the Members by Name, as they went out of the House, with their Vices and Corruptions, and amongst the rest, Sir *Harry Vane* with his breach of Faith and Corruption; and having given the Mace to an Officer to be safely kept, he caused the Doors to be locked up; and so dissolved that Assembly, which had sat almost thirteen years, and under whose Name he had wrought so much mischief, and reduced three Kingdoms to his own entire obedience and subjection, without any example or Precedent in the Christian World that could raise his Ambition to such a presumptuous Undertaking, and without any rational dependance upon the friendship of one Man who had any other Interest to advance his designs, but what he had given him by preferring him in the War.

When He had thus prosperously passed this *Rubicon*, he lost no time in publishing a Declaration of the grounds and reasons of his Proceeding, for the satisfaction of the People: in which he put them in mind, “ how miraculously God had appeared for them in  
 “ reducing *Ireland* and *Scotland* to so great a degree  
 “ of Peace, and *England* to a perfect quiet; whereby  
 “ the Parliament had opportunity to give the People  
 “ the harvest of all their Labor, Blood, and Treasure,  
 “ and to settle a due Liberty in reference to Civil and  
 “ Spiritual things, whereunto they were obliged by  
 “ their Duty, and those great and wonderful things  
 “ God had wrought for them. But that they had  
 “ made so little progress towards this good end, that



B O O K

XIV.

“ it was matter of much grief to the good People of  
“ the Land, who had thereupon applied themselves  
“ to the Army, expecting Redress by their means;  
“ who, being very unwilling to meddle with the Civil  
“ Authority, thought fit that some Officers, who  
“ were Members of the Parliament, should move, and  
“ desire the Parliament to proceed vigorously in re-  
“ forming what was amiss in the Common-wealth,  
“ and in settling it upon a Foundation of Justice and  
“ Righteousness: that they found this, and some  
“ other Endeavours they had used, produced no  
“ good effect, but rather an averseness to the things  
“ themselves, with much bitterness and aversion to  
“ the People of God, and his Spirit acting in them:  
“ inasmuch as the Godly Party in the Army was now  
“ become of no other Use, than to countenance the  
“ ends of a corrupt Party, that desired to perpetuate  
“ themselves in the supreme Government of the Na-  
“ tion: that, for the obviating those Evils, the Offi-  
“ cers of the Army had obtained several meetings  
“ with some Members of the Parliament, to consider  
“ what remedies might properly be applied; but that  
“ it appeared very evident unto them, that the Par-  
“ liament, by want of Attendance of many of their  
“ Members, and want of Integrity in others who did  
“ attend, would never answer those ends, which God,  
“ his People, and the whole Nation, expected from  
“ them; but that this Cause, which God had so  
“ greatly blessed, must needs languish under their  
“ hands; and by degrees be lost, and the Lives, Liber-  
“ ties, and Comforts of his People, be delivered into  
“ their Enemies hands. All which being seriously

“ and sadly considered by the honest People of the Nation, as well as by the Army, it seemed a Duty incumbent upon them, who had seen so much of the power and presence of God, to consider of some effectual means, whereby to establish Righteousness and Peace in these Nations: that, after much Debate, it had been judged necessary, that the supreme Government should be, by the Parliament, devolved for a time upon known Persons, fearing God, and of approved Integrity, as the most hopeful way to countenance all God’s People, preserve the Law, and administer Justice impartially; hoping thereby, that People might forget Monarchy, and understand their true Interest in the election of successive Parliaments, and so the Government might be settled upon a right basis, without hazard to this glorious Cause, or necessity to keep up Armies for the defence thereof: that being resolved, if possible, to decline all extraordinary Courses, they had prevailed with about twenty Members of the Parliament to give them a conference; with whom they debated the justice and necessity of that Proposition; but found them of so contrary an opinion, that they insisted upon the continuance of the present Parliament, as it was then constituted, as the only way to bring those good things to pass which they seemed to desire: that they insisted upon this with so much vehemence, and were so much transported with passion, that they caused a Bill to be prepared for the perpetuating this Parliament, and investing the supreme power in themselves. And for the preventing the consummation of this Act,

B O O K

XIV.

BOOK “ and all the sad and evil consequences, which, upon  
 XIV. “ the grounds thereof, must have ensued, and where-  
 “ by, at one blow, the Interest of all honest Men, and  
 “ of this glorious Cause, had been in danger to  
 “ be laid in the dust, they had been necessitated  
 “ (though with much repugnance) to put an end to  
 “ the Parliament.”

There needs not be any other description of the temper of the Nation at that time, than the remembering that the dissolution of that Body of Men, who had reigned so long over the three Nations, was generally very grateful and acceptable to the People, how unusual soever the circumstances thereof had been; and that this Declaration, which was not only subscribed by *Cromwell*, and his Council of Officers, but was owned by the Admirals at Sea, and all the Captains of Ships, and by the Commanders of all the Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, was looked upon as very reasonable; and the Declaration, that issued thereupon, by which the People were required to live peaceably, and quietly to submit themselves to the Government of the Council of State, which should be nominated by the General, until such a time as a Parliament, consisting of Persons of approved fidelity and honesty, could meet, and take upon them the Government of those Nations, found an equal submission, and obedience.

The Method he pursued afterwards, for the composing a Government, by first putting it into a most ridiculous Confusion, and by divesting himself of all pretences to Authority, and putting what he had no title to keep into the hands of Men so well chosen,



that they should shortly after delegate the power in form of Law to him for the preservation of the Nation, was not less admirable ; and puts me in mind of what *Seneca* said of *Pompey*, “ that he had brought the “ People of *Rome* to that pass,” by magnifying their power and authority, *ut salvus esse non possit nisi beneficio servitutis*. And if *Cromwell* had not now made himself a Tyrant, all Bonds being broken, and the universal Guilt diverting all inclinations to return to the King’s obedience. they must have perished together in such a confusion, as would rather have exposed them as a Prey to Foreigners, than disposed them to the only reasonable way for their preservation ; there being no Man that durst mention the King, or the old form of Government.

It was upon the twentieth of *April* that the Parliament had been dissolved ; and though *Cromwell* found that the People were satisfied in it, and the Declaration published thereupon, yet he knew, it would be necessary to provide some other visible power to settle the Government, than the Council of Officers ; all whom he was not sure he should be able long entirely to govern, many of them having clear other Notions of a Republic than he was willing *England* should be brought to. A Parliament was still a name of more veneration than any other Assembly of Men was like to be, and the contempt the last was fallen into, was like to teach the next to behave itself with more discretion. However the Ice was broken for dissolving them, when they should do otherwise ; yet he was not so well satisfied in the general temper, as to trust the Election of them to the humor and inclination of the People.

## BOOK

## XIV.

Cromwell and  
his Officers  
choose a Par-  
liament.

He resolved therefore to chuse them himself, that he might with the more Justice unmake them when he should think fit; and with the Advice of his Council of Officers, for he made yet no other Council of State, he made choice of a number of Men consisting of above one hundred Persons, who should meet as a Parliament to settle the Government of the Nation. It can hardly be believed that so wild a Notion should fall into any Man's imagination, that such a People should be fit to contribute towards any settlement, or that from their Actions any thing could result, that might advance his particular design. Yet upon the view and consideration of the Persons made choice of, many did conclude, "that he had made his own scheme  
" entirely to himself; and though he communicated  
" it with no Man that was known, concluded it the  
" most natural way to ripen, and produce the Effects,  
" it did afterwards, to the end he proposed to himself."

Conditions  
and Qualities  
of the Persons  
nominated.

There were amongst them divers of the Quality and Degree of Gentlemen, and who had Estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the Major part of them consisted of inferior Persons, of no Quality, or Name, Artificers of the meanest Trades, known only by their gifts in Praying and Preaching; which was now practised by all degrees of Men, but Scholars, throughout the Kingdom. In which number, that there may be a better judgment made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that Parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was *Praise-God* (that was his Christian Name) *Barebone*, a Leather-seller in *Fleet-street*, from

From one of  
the Members,  
that was surnamed *Praise-*

whom (he being an eminent Speaker in it) it was afterwards called *Praise-God Barebone's* Parliament. In a word they were generally a pack of weak-senseless Fellows, fit only to bring the Name, and Reputation of Parliaments, lower than it was yet.

B O O K

XIV.

God Barebone's Parliament.

It was fit these new Men should be brought together by some new way : and a very new way it was ; for *Cromwell* by his Warrants, directed to every one of them, telling them “ of the necessity of dissolving the  
 “ late Parliament, and of an equal necessity, that  
 “ the Peace, Safety, and good Government of the  
 “ Common-wealth should be provided for, and therefore that he had, by the Advice of his Council of  
 “ Officers, nominated divers Persons fearing God,  
 “ and of approved fidelity and honesty, to whom the  
 “ great Charge and Trust of so weighty Affairs was  
 “ to be committed, and that having good assurance  
 “ of their love to, and courage for God, and the Interest of his Cause, and the good People of this  
 “ Common-wealth ;” he concluded in these words,  
 “ I *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General and Commander  
 “ in Chief of all the Forces raised, or to be raised within this Common-wealth, do hereby summon and  
 “ require you personally to be, and appear at the  
 “ Council-Chamber at *White-Hall*, upon the fourth  
 “ day of *July* next, then and there to take upon you  
 “ the said Trust. And you are hereby called, and  
 “ appointed to serve as a Member of the County of,  
 “ &c.” Upon this wild Summons, the Persons so nominated appeared at the Council-Chamber upon the fourth of *July*, which was near three Months after the Dissolution of the former Parliament.

*Cromwell*  
 calls them  
 together by his  
 own Warrants  
 to meet, *July* 3.



## BOOK

## XIV.

Cromwell  
speaks to them,  
and delivers  
them an Instru-  
ment for their  
Authority.

*Cromwell* with his Council of Officers was ready to receive them, and made them a long discourse of “the fear of God, and the honor due to his Name,” full of Texts of Scripture; and remembered “the wonderful Mercies of God to this Nation, and the continued Series of Providence, by which he had appeared in carrying on his Cause, and bringing Affairs into that present glorious condition, wherein they now were.” He put them in mind of “the noble Actions of the Army in the famous Victory of *Worcester*, of the Applications they had made to the Parliament, for a good settlement of all the Affairs of the Commonwealth, the neglect whereof made it absolutely necessary to dissolve it.” He assured them by many Arguments, some of which were urged out of Scripture “that they had a very lawful Call to take upon them the supreme Authority of the Nation,” and concluded with a very earnest desire, “that great tenderness might be used towards all conscientious Persons of what judgment soever they appeared to be.”

When he had finished his discourse, he delivered to them an Instrument engrossed in Parchment under his Hand and Seal, whereby, with the advice of his Council of Officers, he did devolve, and intrust the supreme Authority of this Commonwealth into the hands of those Persons therein mentioned; and declared, “that they, or any forty of them were to be held and acknowledged the supreme Authority of the Nation, to which all Persons within the same, and the Territories thereunto belonging, were to yield obedience and subjection to the third day of the Month

“ of *November*, which should be in the Year 1654,” which was about a Year and three Months from the time that he spoke to them; and three Months before the time prescribed should expire, they were to make choice of other Persons to succeed them, whose Power and Authority should not exceed one Year, and then They were likewise to provide, and take care for a like succession in the Government. Being thus invested with this Authority, they repaired to the Parliament-House, and made choice of one *Rouse* to be their Speaker, an old Gentleman of *Devonshire*, who had been a Member of the former Parliament, and in that time been preferred and made Provost of the College of *Eton*, which Office he then enjoyed, with an opinion of having some knowledge in the Latin and Greek Tongues, but of a very mean understanding, but thoroughly engaged in the guilt of the times.

K O O B  
XIV.

They repair to  
the Parliament  
House, and  
choose Rouse  
their Speaker;

At their first coming together, some of them had the modesty to doubt, that they were not, in many respects, so well qualified as to take upon them the Style and Title of a Parliament. But that modesty was quickly subdued, and they were easily persuaded to assume that Title, and to consider themselves as the supreme Authority in the Nation. These Men thus brought together continued in this Capacity near six Months to the amazement, and even mirth of the People. In which time they never entered upon any grave and serious Debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness, and animosity against the Clergy, and against all Learning, out of which they thought the Clergy had grown, and still would grow.

They assume  
the Name of a  
Parliament;

Their Actions  
and Consulta-  
tions.

B O O K

XIV.

There were now no Bishops for them to be angry with ; they had already reduced all that Order to the lowest distrefs. But their quarrel was againft all who had called themselves Minifters, and who, by being called fo, received Tithes , and refpect from their Neighbours. They looked upon the function itfelf to be Anti-Christian, and the Perfons to be burdensome to the People, and the requiring, and payment of Tithes to be abfolute Judaifm, and they thought fit that they fhould be abolifhed altogether ; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of People who might revive thofe pretences, they propofed “ that all Lands belonging to the Universities, “ and Colleges in thofe Universities, might be fold, “ and the Monies that fhould arife thereby, be dif- “ pofed for the public Service, and to eafe the People “ from the payment of Taxes and Contributions.”

When they had tired and perplexed themfelves fo long in fuch Debates, as foon as they were met in the morning upon the twelfth of *December*, and before many of them were come who were like to diffent from the Motion, one of them flood up and declared, “ that he did believe, they were not equal to the “ Burden that was laid upon them, and therefore “ that they might diffolve themfelves, and deliver “ back their Authority into Their hands from whom “ they had received it ;” which being prefently confented to, their Speaker, with thofe who were of that mind, went to *White-Hall*, and redelivered to *Cromwell* the Inftrument they had received from him, acknowledged their own Impotency, and befought him to take care of the Common-wealth.

On the 12 of  
December  
they delivered  
up their power  
to Cromwell.

By



By this frank Donation He and his Council of Officers were once more possessed of the Supreme Sovereign Power of the Nation. And in few days after, his Council were too modest to share with him in this Royal Authority, but declared, "that the Government of the Commonwealth should reside in a single Person; that that Person should be *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and that his Title should be *Lord Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and of the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; and that He should have a Council of one-and-twenty Persons to be Assistant to him in the Government."

BOOK  
XIV.

His Council of  
Officers make  
him Lord  
Protector.

Most Men did now conclude, that the folly and fortifness of this last Assembly was so much foreseen, that, from their very first coming together, it was determined what should follow their Dissolution. For the method that succeeded, could hardly have been composed in so short a time after, by Persons who had not consulted upon the contingency some time before. It was upon the twelfth of *December*, that the small Parliament was dissolved, when many of the Members, who came to the House as to their usual consultations, found that they who came before, were gone to *White-Hall* to be dissolved; which the other never thought of: and upon the sixteenth day, the Commissioners of the Great-Seal, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, were sent for to attend *Cromwell* and his Council to *Westminster-Hall*; it being then vacation-time; and being come thither, the Commissioners sitting upon their usual Seat, and not knowing why

December 16  
He is installed  
in Westminster-Hall  
according to  
an Instrument  
of Government:

B O O K they were sent for, the Declaration of the Council of  
 XIV. Officers was read, whereby *Cromwell* was made Pro-

The Substance  
 of it.

what was contained in a piece of Parchment was read,  
 which was called the *Instrument of Government*; where-  
 by it was ordained, " that the Protector should call a  
 " Parliament once in every three years; that the first  
 " Parliament should be convened upon the third day  
 " of *September* following, which would be in the year  
 " 1654; and that he should not dissolve any Parlia-  
 " ment once met, till they had sat five Months; that  
 " such Bills as should be presented to him by the Par-  
 " liament, if they should not be confirmed by him  
 " within twenty days, should pass without him, and  
 " be looked upon as Laws: that he should have a  
 " select Council to assist him, which should not ex-  
 " ceed the Number of one-and-twenty, nor be less  
 " than thirteen: that immediately after his death, the  
 " Council should chuse another Protector, before  
 " they rose: that no Protector after him should be  
 " General of the Army: that the Protector should  
 " have power to make Peace and War: that, with  
 " the consent of his Council, he should make Laws,  
 " which should be binding to the Subjects during the  
 " Intervals of Parliament. "

*Cromwell*  
 takes an Oath  
 to observe it.

Whilst this was reading, *Cromwell* had his hand  
 upon the Bible; and it being read, he took his Oath,  
 " that he would not violate any thing that was con-  
 " tained in that Instrument of Government; but  
 " would observe, and cause the same to be observed;  
 " and in all things, according to the best of his under-  
 " standing, govern the Nation according to the Laws,

“ Statutes, and Customs, seeking Peace and causing B O O K  
 “ Justice and Law to be equally administered.” XIV.

This new-invented Ceremony being in this manner performed, He himself was covered, and all the rest bare; and *Lambert*, who was then the second Person in the Army, carried the Sword before his Highness (which was the Style he took from thenceforth) to his Coach, all they whom he called into it, sitting bare: and so he returned to *White-Hall*; and immediately Proclamation was made by a Herald, in the *Palace-Yard at Westminster*, “ that the late Parliament  
 “ having dissolved themselves, and resigned their  
 “ whole Power and Authority, the Government of  
 “ the Common-wealth of *England*, *Scotland*, and  
 “ *Ireland*, by a Lord Protector, and successive Triennial Parliaments, was now established: and whereas  
 “ *Oliver Cromwell*, Captain-General of all the Forces  
 “ of the Common-wealth, is declared Lord Protector  
 “ of the said Nations, and had accepted thereof,  
 “ publication was now made of the same; and all Persons, of what Quality or Condition soever, in any  
 “ of the said three Nations, were strictly charged and  
 “ commanded to take notice thereof, and to conform  
 “ and submit themselves to the Government so established; and all Sheriffs, Mayors, &c. were required to publish this Proclamation, to the end that  
 “ none might have cause to pretend Ignorance therein.” Which Proclamation was at the same time published in *Cheapside* by the Lord Mayor of *London*; and, with all possible expedition, by the Sheriffs, and other Officers, throughout *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*. And in some time after, the City of *London*

He is proclaimed Protector.

The City invites him to *Greyers-Hall*.



**B O O K** invited their new Protector to a very splendid Entertainment at *Grocers-Hall*, upon an *Ash-Wednesday*; the Streets being railed, and the Solemnity of his Reception such as had been at any time performed to the King: and He, as like a King, graciously conferred the honor of Knighthood upon the Lord Mayor at his departure.

**XIV.** In this manner, and with so little pains, this extraordinary Man, without any other reason than because he had a mind to it, and without the assistance, and against the desire of all Noble Persons or Men of Quality, or of any Number of Men, who, in the beginning of the Troubles, were possessed of three hundred pounds Lands by the year, mounted himself into the Throne of three Kingdoms, without the Name of King, but with a greater Power and Authority than had ever been exercised, or claimed by any King: and received greater evidence and manifestation of respect, and esteem, from all the Kings and Princes in *Christendom*, than had ever been showed to any Monarch of those Nations: which was so much the more notorious, in that they all abhorred him, when they trembled at his Power, and courted his Friendship.

Though during this last year's unsettlement in *England*, *Cromwell* had, *ex plenitudine potestatis*, taken care that there was a good Winter-Guard of Ships in the *Downs*, yet the *Dutch* had enjoyed a very fruitful harvest of Trade during that confusion, and suspension of Power; and had sent out their Fleets of Merchant-Men under a Convoy, by the North of *Scotland*; and, by the return of that Convoy, received their Fleet

from the *Baltick* with security: So that, upon the hope those domestic contentions in *England* would not be so soon composed, they begun to recover their Spirits again. But *Cromwell* had no sooner broke the long Parliament, but, with great diligence, he caused a strong Fleet to be made ready against the Spring; and committed the Command thereof to three Admirals jointly; *Blake*, a Man well known, but not thought entirely enough devoted to *Cromwell*; *Monk*, whom he called out of *Scotland* as his own Creature; and *Dean*, a mere Seaman, grown, from a common Mariner, to the reputation of a bold and excellent Officer.

B O O K  
XIV.

A Fleet this  
year 1653 set  
forth under  
three Admirals.

This Fleet, in the beginning of *June* in the year 1653, met with the *Dutch* about the middle Seas over between *Dover* and *Zeeland*; and made what haste they could to engage them. But the Wind not being favorable, it was noon before the Fight begun; which continued very sharp till the night parted them, without any visible advantage to either side, save that *Dean*, one of the *English* Admirals, was killed by a Cannon-shot from the Rear-Admiral of the *Dutch*. The next morning, the *Dutch* having the advantage of the small Wind that was, the *English* charged so furiously upon the thickest part of them, without discharging any of their Guns till they were at a very small distance, that they broke their Squadrons; and in the end forced them to fly, and make all the Sail they could for their own Coasts, leaving behind them eleven of their Ships; which were all taken; besides six which were sunk. The Execution on the *Dutch* was very great, as was likewise the number of the

The Dutch  
beaten at Sea  
in June.

**B O O K** Prisoners, as well Officers as Soldiers. The loss of the  
**XIV.** *English* was greatest in their General *Dean*: there was besides him, but one Captain, and about two hundred Common Seamen, killed: the Number of the wounded was greater; nor did they lose one Ship, nor were so disabled but that they followed with the whole Fleet to the Coast of *Holland*, whither the other fled; and being got into the *Elle*, and the *Texel*, the *English* for some time blocked them up in their own Harbours, taking all such Ships as came bound for those parts.

The Dutch  
 send four  
 Commissioners  
 to treat of  
 Peace.

This great Defeat so humbled the States, that they made all possible haste to send four Commissioners into *England* to mediate for a Treaty, and a Cessation of Arms; who were received very lustily by *Cromwell*, and with some reprehension for their want of wariness in entering into so unequal a Contention: yet He declared a gracious inclination to a Treaty, till the conclusion whereof he could admit no Cessation; which being known in *Holland*, they would not stay so long under the reproach and disadvantage of being besieged, and shut up in their Ports; but made all possible haste to prepare another Fleet, strong enough to remove the *English* from their Coasts; which they believed was the best Expedient to advance their Treaty: and there cannot be a greater Instance of the opulency of that People, than that they should be able, after so many losses, and so late a great Defeat, in so short a time to set out a Fleet strong enough to visit those who had so lately overcome them, and who shut them up within their Ports.

Their Admiral *Trump* had, with some of the Fleet, retired into the *Wierings*, at too great a distance from



the other Ports for the *English* Fleet to divide itself. B O O K  
 He had, with a marvellous Industry, caused his hurt XIV.  
 Ships to be repaired; and more severe punishment to  
 be inflicted on those who had behaved themselves  
 cowardly, than had ever been used in that State. And  
 the States published so great and ample rewards to all  
 Officers and Seamen who would, in that conjuncture,  
 repair to their Service, that by the end of *July*, within  
 less than two Months after their Defeat, he came out  
 of the *Wierings* with a Fleet of ninety-and-five Men of  
 War; which as soon as the *English* had notice of, they  
 made towards him. But the Wind rising, they were  
 forced to stand more to Sea, for fear of the Sands and  
 Shelves upon that Coast. Whereupon *Van Trump*, all  
 that Night, stood into the *Texel*; where he joined five  
 and-twenty more of their best Ships; and with this  
 Addition, which made a hundred and twenty Sail,  
 he faced the *English*; who, being at this time under  
 the Command of *Monk* alone, kept still to the Sea;  
 and having got a little more room, and the Weather  
 being a little clearer, tacked about, and were received  
 by the *Dutch* with great courage and gallantry.

*Trump comes  
to Sea with  
another Fleet  
before the end  
of July.*

The Battle continued very hot, and bloody on  
 both sides, from six of the Clock in the Morning till  
 one in the Afternoon; when the Admiral of *Holland*,  
 the famous *Van Trump*, whilst he very signally per-  
 formed the Office of a brave and bold Commander,  
 was shot with a Musquet-Bullet into the heart, of  
 which he fell dead without speaking a word. This  
 blow broke the courage of the rest; who seeing many  
 of their Companions burnt and sunk, after having en-  
 dured very hot Service, before the Evening, fled, and

*Another Sea-  
Fight: Trump  
sain: the  
English get  
the Victory.*

**B O O K** made all the Sail they could towards the *Texel*, and the  
**XIV.** *English* were not in a condition to pursue them; but found themselves obliged to retire to their own Coast, both to preserve and mend their maimed and torn Ships, and refresh their wounded Men.

This Battle was the most bloody that had been yet fought, both sides rather endeavouring the destruction of their Enemies Fleet than the taking their Ships. On the *Hollanders* part, between twenty and thirty of their Ships of War were fired, or sunk, and above one thousand Prisoners taken. The Victory cost the *English* dear too; for four hundred common Men, and eight Captains, were slain outright, and above seven hundred common Men, and five Captains, wounded. But they lost only one Ship, which was burned: and two or three more, though carried home, were disabled for farther Service. The most sensible part of the loss to the *Dutch* was the death of their Admiral *Van Trump*, who, in respect of his Maritime experience, and the frequent Actions he had been engaged in, might very well be reckoned amongst the most eminent Commanders at Sea of that age, and to whose memory his Country is farther indebted than they have yet acknowledged.

This was the last Engagement at Sea between the two Common-wealths: for as the *Dutch* were, by this last Defeat, and loss of their brave Admiral, totally dispirited, and gave their Commissioners at *London* order to prosecute the Peace upon any conditions, so *Cromwell*, being by this time become Protector, was weary enough of so chargeable a War, and knew he had much to do to settle the Government

*Cromwell*  
 makes Peace  
 with the  
*Dutch*,  
 Apr. 1654.

at home, and that he might chuse more convenient Enemies abroad, who would neither be able to defend themselves as well, or to do him so much harm, as the *Hollanders* had done, and could do. And therefore when he had drawn the *Dutch* to accept of such conditions as he thought fit to give them; among which one was, “that they should not suffer any of the “King’s Party, or any Enemy to the Common-wealth “of *England*, to reside within their Dominions:” and another, which was contained in a secret Article, to which the Great-Seal of the States was affixed, by which they obliged themselves “never to admit the “Prince of *Orange* to be their Stadtholder, General, “or Admiral; and likewise to deliver up the Island “of *Polerone* in the *East-Indies*” (which they had taken from the *English* in the time of King *James*, and usurped it ever since) “into the hands of the *English* “*East-India-Company* again;” and to pay a good Sum of Money for the old barbarous violence exercised so many years since at *Amboyna*; for which the two last Kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation: about the middle of *April* 1654 He made a Peace with the States-General, with all the advantages he could desire, having indeed all the Persons of power and interest there, fast bound to him upon their joint interest.

And having now rendered himself terrible abroad, He forced *Portugal* to send an Ambassador to beg Peace, and to submit to expiate the offence they had committed in receiving Prince *Rupert*, by the payment of a great Sum of Money; and brought the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* to sue for his Alliance.

B O O K

XIV.

He makes  
Portugal send  
an Ambassador  
for Peace.



B O O K

XIV.

He persecutes  
the King's  
Party.

He suspended for a time to chuse a new Enemy, that he might make himself as much obeyed at home, as he was feared abroad : and in order to that, he prosecuted all those who had been of the King's Party with the utmost Rigor ; laid new impositions upon them ; and upon every light rumor of a Conspiracy, clapped up all those whom he thought fit to suspect, into close Prisons ; enjoined others not to stir from their own Houses, and banished all who had ever been in Arms for the King, from the Cities of *London* and *Westminster* ; and laid other penalties upon them, contrary to the Articles granted to them when they gave up their Arms, and to the indemnity upon making their Compositions.

The general  
discontents in  
the Nation.

The discontents were general over the whole Kingdom, and among all sorts of People, of what Party soever. The Presbyterians preached boldly against the Liberty of Conscience, and the monstrous Licence that sprung from thence ; and they who enjoyed that Licence were as unsatisfied with the Government as any of the rest, talked more loudly, and threatened the Person of *Cromwell* more than any. But into these distempers *Cromwell* was not inquisitive ; nor would give those Men an opportunity to talk, by calling them in question, who, he knew, would say more than he was willing any body should hear ; but intended to mortify those unruly Spirits at the charge of the King's Party, and with the Spectacle of their suffering upon any the most trivial occasion. And if, in this general licence of discourse, any Man who was suspected to wish well to the King, let fall any light word against the Government, he was sure to be cast in

B O O K

XIV.

Prison, and to be pursued with all possible severity and cruelty: and he could not want frequent opportunities of revenge this way. It was the greatest consolation to miserable Men, who had, in themselves or their Friends, been undone by their Loyalty, to meet together, and lament their conditions: and this brought on invectives against the Person of *Cromwell*; Wine, and good Fellowship, and the continuance of the discourse, disposing them to take notice of the universal hatred that the whole Nation had of him, and to fancy how easy it would be to destroy him. And commonly there was, in all those meetings, some corrupted Person of the Party, who fomented most the discourse, and, for a vile recompence, betrayed his Companions, and informed of all, and more than had been said. Whereupon a new Plot was discovered against the Common-wealth and the Person of the Protector, and a high Court of Justice was presently erected to try the Criminals; which rarely absolved any Man who was brought before them. But to this kind of Trial they never exposed any Man but those of the King's Party; the others, of whom they were more afraid, had too many Friends to suffer them to be brought before such a Tribunal; which had been first erected to murder the King himself, and continued to root out all who adhered to him. No Man, who had ever been against the King (except he became afterwards for him) was ever brought before that extravagant Power; but such were remitted to the Trial of the Law by juries, which seldom condemned any.

The very next Month after the Peace was made, A High-Court of Justice erected a for the better establishment of *Cromwell's* Empire, a

B O O K

XIV.

month after  
the Peace with  
Holland.

Mr. Gerard  
and Mr. Vowel  
tried before  
them.

High-Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of Persons accused of "holding correspondence with *Charles Stuart*" (which was the Style they allowed the King) "and for having a design against the life of the Protector, to seize upon the Tower, and to proclaim the King." The chief Persons they accused of this were, Mr. *Gerard*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been an Ensign in the King's Army, but was not at present above twenty-two years of Age: the other, one Mr. *Vowel*; who kept a School, and taught many Boys about *Islington*. Mr. *Gerard* was charged with "having been at *Paris*, and "having there spoken with the King;" which he confessed; and declared "that he went to *Paris* upon a "business that concerned himself" which he named) "and when he had despatched it, and was to return "for *England*, he desired the Lord *Gerard*, his Kinsman, to present him to the King, that he might kiss his hand; which he did in a large Room, where "were many present; and that, when he asked his Majesty, whether he would command him any "Service into *England*? his Majesty bid him to "commend him to his Friends there, and to charge "them that they should be quiet, and not engage "themselves in any Plots; which must prove ruinous "to Them, and could do the King no good:" which was very true: for his Majesty had observed so much of the temper of the People at his being at *Worcester*, and his concealment after, the fear they were under, and how fruitless any Insurrection must be, that he endeavoured nothing more than to divert, and suppress all inclinations that way. However, this High-Court



of Justice received proof, that Mr. *Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* had been present with some other Gentlemen in a Tavern, where discourse had been held, "how easy a thing it was to kill the Protector, and at the same time to seize upon the Tower of *London*, and that, if at the same time the King were proclaimed, the City of *London* would presently declare for his Majesty, and nobody would oppose him."

Upon this Evidence those two Gentlemen were condemned to be hanged; and upon the tenth of *July*, about two Months after they had been in Prison, a Gallows was erected at *Charing-Cross*; whither Mr. *Vowel* was brought; who was a Person utterly unknown to the King, and to any Person intrusted by him, but very worthy to have his name, and memory preserved in the List of those who showed most magnanimity and courage in sacrificing their Lives for the Crown. He expressed a marvellous contempt of death; "which," he said, "he suffered without having committed any fault." He professed his duty to the King, and his reverence for the Church; and earnestly and pathetically advised the People to return to their fidelity to both; "which," he told them "they would at last be compelled to do after all their sufferings." He addressed himself most to the Soldiers; told them, "how unworthily they prostituted themselves to serve the Ambition of an unworthy Tyrant;" and conjured them "to forsake Him, and to serve the King; which, he was sure, they would at last do." And so having devoutly recommended the King, and the Kingdom, and Himself, to God in very pious Prayers, he ended his Life with as much

B O O K  
XIV.

They are  
condemned.

Mr. Vowel  
executed at  
Charing-  
Cross: his  
magnanimous  
behaviour.

**BOOK** Christian Resolution, as can be expected from the  
**XIV.** most composed Conscience.

Mr. Gerard  
 beheaded on  
 Tower-Hill in  
 the afternoon  
 of the same  
 day.

The Protector was prevailed with to show more respect to Mr. *Gerard* in causing him to be beheaded, who was brought the Afternoon of the same day to a Scaffold upon *Tower-Hill*. But they were still pleased with the behaviour of Him who suffered in the Morning, that they would not permit the other to speak to the People, but pressed him to discover all the Secrets of the Plot and Conspiracy. He told them, “ that if he had a hundred lives, he would lose them all to do the King any service; and was now willing to die upon that suspicion; but that he was very innocent of what was charged against him; that he had not entered into, or consented to any Plot or Conspiracy, nor given any countenance to any discourse to that purpose;” and offered again to speak to the People, and to magnify the King: upon which they would not suffer him to proceed; and thereupon, with great and undaunted courage, he laid down his head upon the Block.

The same day  
 and place the  
 Portugal  
 Ambassador's  
 Brother be-  
 headed.

The same day was concluded with a very exemplary piece of Justice, and of a very different nature from the other two. The Ambassador of *Portugal* had a very splendid Equipage, and in his Company his Brother *Don Pantaleon Sa*, a Knight of *Malta*, and a Man eminent in many great Actions; who out of curiosity accompanied his Brother in this Embassy, that he might see *England*. This Gentleman was of a haughty and imperious nature; and one day being in the new Exchange, upon a sudden accident, and mistake, had a Quarrel with that Mr. *Cerard*, whom we now left

without his Head; who had then returned some negligence and contempt to the Rodomontadoes of the *Portuguese*, and had left him sensible of receiving some affront. Whereupon the *Don* repaired thither again the next day, with many Servants, better armed, and provided for any Encounter, imagining he should there find his former Adversary, who did not expect that visit. But the *Portuguese* not distinguishing Persons, and finding many Gentlemen walking there, and, amongst the rest, one he believed very like the other. he thought he was not to lose the occasion, and entered into a new Quarrel; in which a Gentleman utterly unacquainted with what had formerly passed, and walking there accidentally, was killed, and others hurt; upon which, the People rising from all the Neighbour-places, *Don Pantaleon* thought fit to make his retreat to his Brother's House; which he did, and caused the Gate to be locked, and put all the Servants in Arms to defend the House against the People; which had pursued him, and flocked now together from all parts to apprehend those who had caused the disorder, and had killed a Gentleman.

The Ambassador knew nothing of the affair, but looked upon himself as affronted, and assaulted by a rude Multitude; and took care to defend his House till the Justice should allay the Tumult. *Cromwell* was quickly advertised of the insolence, and sent an Officer with Soldiers to demand and seize upon all the Persons who had been engaged in the Action: and so the Ambassador came to be informed of the truth of the story, with which he was exceedingly afflicted and astonished. The Officer demanded the Person of his

BOOK  
XIV.



**B O O K** Brother, who was well known, and the rest of those  
**XIV.** who were present, to be delivered to him, without which he would break open the House, and find them wherever they were concealed. The Ambassador demanded the Privilege that was due to his House by the Law of Nations, and which he would defend against any Violence with his own Life, and the Lives of all his Family; but finding the Officer resolute, and that he should be too weak in the Encounter he desired respite till he might send to the Protector; which was granted to him. He complained of the Injury that was done him, and desired an Audience. *Cromwell* sent him word, "that a Gentleman had been murdered, " and many others hurt; and that Justice must be " satisfied; and therefore required that all the Persons " engaged might be delivered into the hands of his " Officer; without which, if he should withdraw " the Soldiers, and desist the requiring it, the People " would pull down the House, and execute Justice " themselves; of which he would not answer for the " effect. When this was done, he should have an " Audience, and all the satisfaction it was in his power " to give." The Ambassador desired " that his " Brother, and the rest, might remain in his House, " and he would be responsible, and produce them " before the Justice at the time should be assigned." But nothing would serve but the delivery of the Persons, and the People increased their cry "that they " would pull down the House." Whereupon the Ambassador was compelled to deliver up his Brother, and the rest of the Persons; who were all sent Prisoners to *Newgate*. The Ambassador used all the Instances

stances he could for his Brother, being willing to leave the rest to the mercy of the Law; but could receive no other answer but "that Justice must be done; and Justice was done to the full; for they were all brought to their Trial at the Sessions at *Newgate*, and there so many of them condemned to be hanged as were found guilty. The rest of those who were condemned, were executed at *Tiburn*; and *Don Pantaleon* himself was brought to the Scaffold on *Tower-Hill*, as soon as Mr. *Gerard* was executed; where he lost his head with less grace than his Antagonist had done.

Though the Protector had nothing now to do but at home, *Holland* having accepted Peace upon his own terms, *Portugal* bought it at a full price, and upon a humble Submission, *Denmark* being contented with such an Alliance as he was pleased to make with them, and *France* and *Spain* contending, by their Ambassadors, which should render themselves most acceptable to him; *Scotland* lying under a heavy Yoke by the strict Government of *Monk*, who after the Peace with the *Dutch* was sent back to govern that Province, which was reduced under the Government of the *English* Laws, and their Kirk, and Kirkmen, entirely subdued to the obedience of the State with reference to Assemblies, or Synods; *Ireland* being confessedly subdued, and no opposition made to the Protector's Commands; so that Commissions were sent to divide all the Lands which had belonged to the *Irish*, or to those *English* who had adhered to the King, amongst those Adventurers who had supplied Money for the War, and the Soldiers and Officers; who were in great Arrears for their pay, and who received liberal

B O O K  
XIV.

The condition  
of the Protect.  
or in respect of  
his Neighbours

The State of  
Scotland  
under him

of Ireland.

**B O O K** Assignations in Lands; one whole Province being  
**XIV.** reserved for the *Irish* to be confined to; and all these Divisions made under the Government of his younger Son, *Harry Cromwell*, whom he sent thither as his Lieutenant of that Kingdom; who lived in the full Grandeur of the Office; notwithstanding all this *England* proved not yet so towardsly as he expected. *Vane*, and the most considerable Men of the Independent Party, from the time he had turned them out of the Parliament, and so dissolved it, retired quietly to their Houses in the Country; poisoned the Affections of their Neighbours towards the Government; and lost nothing of their credit with the People; yet carried themselves so warily, that they did nothing to disturb the Peace of the Nation, or to give *Cromwell* any advantage against them upon which to call them in question.

Disputes  
among his  
own Party:

especially the  
Levellers.

There were another less wary, because a more desperate Party, which were the Levellers; many whereof had been the most active Agitators in the Army, who had executed his Orders and Designs in incensing the Army against the Parliament, and had been at that time his sole Confidants and Bed-fellows; who, from the time that he assumed the Title of Protector, which to them was as odious as that of King, professed a mortal hatred to his Person; and he well knew both these People had too much credit in his Army, and with some principal Officers of it. Of these Men he stood in more fear than of all the King's Party; of which he had in truth very little apprehension, though he colored many of the preparations he made against the other, as if provided against the dangers threatened from them.



But the time drew near now, when he was obliged by the Instrument of Government, and upon his Oath, to call a Parliament, which seemed to him the only means left to compose the minds of the People to an entire submission to his Government. In order to this Meeting, though he did not observe the old course in sending Writs out to all the little Boroughs throughout *England*, which use to send Burgeſſes (by which Method ſome ſingle Counties ſend more Members to the Parliament, than fix other Counties do) he thought he took a more equal way by appointing more Knights for every Shire to be choſen, and fewer Burgeſſes; whereby the number of the whole was much leſſened; and yet, the People being left to their own Election, it was not by him thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time. And ſo, upon the receipt of his Writs, Elections were made accordingly in all places; and ſuch Perſons, for the moſt part, choſen and returned, as were believed to be the beſt affected to the preſent Government, and to thoſe who had any Authority in it; there being ſtrict Order given, “ that no Perſon “ who had ever been againſt the Parliament during “ the time of the Civil War, or the Sons of any ſuch “ Perſons, ſhould be capable of being choſen to ſit in “ that Parliament; nor were any ſuch Perſons made “ choice of.”

The day of their meeting was the third of *September* in the year 1654, within leſs than a year after he had been declared Protector; when, after they had been at a Sermon in the Abby at *Weſtmiſter*, they all came

B O O K

XIV.

He calls a  
Parliament  
after a new  
Method.

His Parliament  
meets Sept. 3.  
1654.

## BOOK

## XIV

The Substance  
of his Speech  
to them.

into the Painted-Chamber; where his Highness made them a large discourse; and told them, “ that that Parliament was such a Congregation of wise, prudent, and discreet Persons, that *England* had scarce seen the like: that he should forbear relating to them the Series of God’s Providence all along to that time, because it was well known to them; and only declare to them, that the erection of his present power was a suitable providence to the rest, by showing what a condition these Nations were in at its erection: that Then every Man’s heart was against another’s, every Man’s interest divided against another’s. and almost every thing grown Arbitrary: that there was grown up a general contempt of God and Christ, the Grace of God turned into wantonness, and his Spirit made a Cloak for all wickedness and prophaneness, nay, that the Axe was even laid to the root of the Ministry, and swarms of Jesuits were continually wasted over hither to consume, and destroy the Welfare of *England*: that the Nation was then likewise engaged in a deep War with *Portugal*, *Holland*, and *France*; so that the whole Nation was one heap of confusion; but that this present Government was calculated for the People’s Interest, let malignant Spirits say what they would; and that, with humbleness towards God, and modesty towards Them, he would recount somewhat in the behalf of the Government. First, it had endeavoured to reform the Law; it had put into the Seat of Justice Men of known integrity, and ability; it had settled a way for probation of Ministers to Preach the Gospel:

“ and besides all this, it had called a free Parliament: B O O K  
 “ that, blessed be God, they that day saw a free Par- XIV.  
 “ liament: then as to Wars, that a Peace was made  
 “ with *Denmark, Sweden, the Dutch, and Portugal,*  
 “ and was likewise near concluding with *France:* that  
 “ these things were but entrances, and doors of hopes;  
 “ but now he made no question to enable them to lay  
 “ the top-Stone of the Work, recommending to them  
 “ that maxim, that Peace, though it were made, was  
 “ not to be trusted farther than it consisted with In-  
 “ terest: that the great Work which now lay upon  
 “ this Parliament, was, that the Government of  
 “ *England* might be settled upon terms of Honor: that  
 “ they would avoid confusions, lest Foreign States  
 “ should take Advantage of them: that, as for himself,  
 “ he did not speak like one that would be a Lord  
 “ over them, but as one that would be a Fellow-Ser-  
 “ vant in that great Affair:” and concluded, “ that  
 “ they should go to their House, and there make  
 “ choice of a Speaker:” which they presently did, and  
 seemed very unanimous in their first Act, which was  
 the making choice of *William Lenthall* to be their  
 Speaker; which Agreement was upon very disagree-  
 ing Principles. *Cromwell* having designed him, for  
 luck’s sake, and being well acquainted with his temper,  
 concluded, that he would be made a property in This,  
 as well as he had been in the long Parliament, when he  
 always complied with that Party that was most  
 powerful. And the other Persons who meant nothing  
 that *Cromwell* did, were well pleased, out of hope that  
 the same Man’s being in the Chair might facilitate the  
 renewing and reviving the former House; which

William  
 Lenthall  
 chosen their  
 Speaker.



**BOOK** they looked upon as the true legitimate Parliament,  
**XIV.** strangled by the Tyranny of *Cromwell*, and yet that it had life enough left in it.

**Their Actings.** *Lenthall* was no sooner in his Chair than it was proposed, "that they might in the first place consider by  
 " what Authority they came thither, and whether  
 " that which had Convened them, had a Lawful  
 " power to that purpose." From which Subject the Protector's Creatures, and those of the Army, endeavoured to divert them by all the Arguments they could. Notwithstanding which, the current of the House insisted upon the first clearing that point, as the foundation, upon which all their Counsels must be built: and as many of the Members positively enough declared against that Power, so one of them, more confident than the rest, said plainly, "that they  
 " might easily discern the Snares which were laid to  
 " entrap the Privileges of the People; and for his  
 " own part, as God had made him instrumental in  
 " cutting down Tyranny in one Person, so now he  
 " could not endure to see the Nation's Liberties  
 " shackled by another, whose Right to the Govern-  
 " ment could not be measured otherwise than by the  
 " length of his Sword, which alone had emboldened  
 " him to Command his Commanders." This Spirit prevailed so far, that, for eight days together, those of the Council of Officers, and others ( who were called the Court-Party ) could not divert the question from being put, "whether the Government should be by a  
 " Protector and a Parliament," any other way than by lengthening the Debate, and then Adjourning the House when the question was ready to be put,

because they plainly saw that it would be carried in the Negative. H O O E  
XIV.

The continuance of this warm Debate in the House, in which the Protector's own Person was not treated with much reverence, exceedingly perplexed him; and obliged him once more to try, what respect his Sovereign Presence would produce towards a better Composure. So he came again to the Painted-Chamber, and sent for his Parliament to come to him; and then told them, "that the great God of Heaven and Earth knew what Grief and Sorrow of heart it was to him, to find them falling into Heats and Divisions: that he would have them take notice of this, that the same Government made Him a Protector, that made Them a Parliament: that as They were intrusted in some things, so was He in others: that in the Government were certain fundamentals, which could not be altered; to wit, that the Government should be in a single Person and a Parliament; that Parliaments should not be perpetual, and always sitting; that the Militia should not be trusted into one Hand, or Power, but so as the Parliament might have a check on the Protector, and the Protector on the Parliament; that in matters of Religion there ought to be a Liberty of Conscience, and that Persecution in the Church was not to be Tolerated: These, he said, were unalterable fundamentals: as for other things in the Government, they were examinable and alterable as the State of Affairs did require: that, for his own part, he was even overwhelmed with Grief, to see that any of them should go about to overthrow what was settled, contrary

*Cromwell  
speaks to them  
in the Painted-  
Chamber.*

BOOK " to the Trust they had received from the People;  
 XIV. " which could not but bring very great inconveni-  
 " ences upon themselves and the Nation." When he  
 had made this frank Declaration unto them what they  
 were to trust to, the better to confirm them in their  
 duty, he had appointed a Guard to attend at the door  
 of the Parliament-House, and there to restrain all Men  
 from entering into the House who refused to subscribe  
 this following Engagement: " I do hereby promise  
 " and engage to be true and faithful to the Lord Pro-  
 " tector of the Commonwealth of *England, Scotland,*  
 " and *Ireland*; and shall not ( according to the tenor  
 " of this Indenture, whereby I am returned to serve  
 " in Parliament) propose or give any Consent to alter  
 " the Government as it is settled in one Person and a  
 " Parliament."

He admits  
 none into the  
 House but such  
 as subscribed  
 an Engage-  
 ment to him.

This Engagement a considerable part of the Mem-  
 bers utterly refused to sign, and called it a violation of  
 the Privilege of Parliament, and an absolute depriving  
 them of that freedom which was essential to it. So  
 they were excluded, and restrained from entering into  
 the House: and they who did subscribe it, and had  
 thereupon Liberty to sit there, were yet so refractory  
 to any Proposition that might settle him in the Go-  
 vernment in the manner he desired it, that, after the  
 five Months near spent in wrangling, and useless  
 discourses (during which he was not to attempt the  
 Dissolution of them by his Instrument of Govern-  
 ment) he took the first opportunity to dissolve them;  
 and upon the two-and-twentieth of *January*, with  
 some reproaches, he let them know he could do the  
 business without them; and so dismissed them with

He dissolves  
 them Jan. 22.



much evidence of his Displeasure: and They again retired to their habitations, resolved to wait another opportunity of revenge, and in the mean time to give no evidence of their submitting to his Usurpation, by undertaking any Employment or Office under his Authority, He as carefully endeavouring and watching to find such an Advantage against them, as might make them liable to the penalty of the Laws. Yet even his weakness and impotency upon such a notorious Advantage, appeared in two very notable Instances, which happened about that time, in the Case of two Persons, whose Names were then much taken notice of upon the Stage of Affairs, *John Wildman*, and *John Lilburn*.

B O O K  
XIV.

An account of  
*John Wild-*  
*man*, and *John*  
*Lilburn*,  
*Levellers*.

The former had been bred a Scholar in the University of *Cambridge*; and being young, and of a pregnant Wit, in the beginning of the Rebellion meant to make his Fortune in the War; and chose to depend upon *Cromwell's* countenance and advice, when he was not above the degree of a Captain of a Troop of Horse himself, and was much esteemed and valued by him, and made an Officer; and was so active in contriving and fomenting Jealousies and Discontents, and so dexterous in composing, or improving any Disgusts, and so inspired with the Spirit of Praying and Preaching; when those gifts came into request, and became thriving Arts, that about the time when the King was taken from *Holmby*, and it was necessary that the Army should enter into Contests with the Parliament, *John Wildman* grew to be one of the principal Agitators, and was most relied upon by *Cromwell* to infuse those things into the minds of the Soldiers, and

*John Wild-*  
*man*.

B O O II to conduct them in the managery of their Discontents,  
 XIV. as might most advance those designs He then had; and quickly got the reputation of a Man of Parts; and, having a smooth Pen, drew many of the Papers which first kindled the Fire between the Parliament and the Army, that was not afterwards extinguished but in the ruin of Both. His Reputation in those Faculties made him quit the Army; where he was become a Major; and where he kept still a great Interest, and he betook himself to Civil Affairs, in the solicitation of Suits depending in the Parliament, or before Committees; where he had much credit with those who had most power to do Right or Wrong, and so made himself necessary to those who had need of such Protection from the Tyranny of the time. By these Arts he thrived, and got much more than he could have done in the Army, and kept, and increased his credit there, by the Interest he had in other places. When *Cromwell* declined the ways of establishing the Common-wealth, *Wildman*, amongst the rest, forsook him; and entered, warily, into any Counsels which were like to destroy him: and upon the dissolution of this last Parliament, having less of flegm, and so less patience than other Men, to expect another opportunity, and in the mean time to leave him to establish his Greatness, he did believe he should be able to make such a Schism in the Army, as would give an opportunity to other enraged Persons to take vengeance upon him.

*Cromwell* knew the Man, and his undermining faculties; knew he had some design in hand, but could not make any such discovery as might warrant

a public Prosecution; but appointed some trusty Spies (of which he had plenty) to watch him very narrowly, and, by being often with him, to find his Papers; the spreading whereof, he knew, would be the Preamble to any conspiracy of His. Shortly after the dissolution of that Parliament, these Instruments of *Cromwell's* surpris'd him in a room, where he thought he had been safe enough, as he was writing a Declaration; and seized upon the Papers; the title whereof was, "a Declaration, containing the reasons and motives which oblige Us to take up Arms against *Oliver Cromwell*;" and though it was not finished, yet in that that was done, there was all venom imaginable expressed against him, and a large and bitter Narration of all his foul breach of trust, and perjuries, enough to have expos'd any Man to the severest Judgment of that time; and as much as he could wish to discover against Him, or any Man whom he most desired to destroy. The Issue was, the Man was straitly imprison'd, and preparations made for his Trial, and towards his Execution, which all Men expected. But, whether *Cromwell* found that there were more engaged with him than could be brought to Justice, or were fit to be discovered (as many Men believed) or that *Wildman* oblig'd himself for the time to come not only to be quiet, but to be a Spy for him upon others (as others at that time suspected, and had reason for it afterwards) after a short time of Imprisonment, the Man was restor'd to his Liberty; and resort'd, with the same success and reputation, to his former course of Life; in which he thrived very notably.



## BOOK

XIV.

John Lilburn.

The Case of *John Lilburn* was much more wonderful, and administered more occasion of discourse and observation. This Man, before the Troubles, was a poor Book-binder; and for procuring some seditious Pamphlets against the Church and State to be printed and dispersed, had been severely censured in the *Star-Chamber*, and received a sharp Castigation, which made him more obstinate and malicious against them; and, as he afterwards confessed, in the melancholy of his Imprisonment, and by reading the Book of Martyrs, he raised in himself a marvellous inclination and appetite to suffer in the defence or for the vindication of any oppressed Truth; and found himself very much confirmed in that spirit; and in that time diligently collected, and read all those Libels and Books, which had anciently, as well as lately been written against the Church: from whence, with the venom, he had likewise contracted the impudence and bitterness of their Style; and by practice, brought himself to the faculty of writing like them: and so, when that Licence broke in of printing all that malice and wit could suggest, he published some Pamphlets in his own Name, full of that confidence and virulency, which might asperse the Government most to the sense of the People, and to their humor. When the War began, he put himself into the Army; and was taken Prisoner by the King's Forces in that Engagement at *Brentford*, shortly after the Battle of *Edgehill*; and being then a Man much known, and talked of for his qualities above-mentioned, he was not so well treated in Prison as was like to reconcile him; and being brought before the Chief-Justice, to be tried for Trea-

son by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer (in which method the King intended then to have proceeded against the Rebels which should be taken) he behaved himself with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a Martyr for that Cause. But as he was liberally supplied from his Friends at *London* (and the Parliament in express terms declared, "that they would inflict punishment upon the Prisoners they had of the King's Party, in the same manner as *Lilburn* and the rest should suffer at *Oxford*") so he did find means to corrupt the Marshal who had the custody of him; and made his escape into the Parliament-Quarters; where he was received with public Joy, as a Champion that had defied the King in his own Court.

From this time he was entertained by *Cromwell* with great familiarity, and, in his contests with the Parliament, was of much use to him, and privacy with him. But he begun then to find him of so restless and unruly a Spirit, and to make those advances in Religion against the Presbyterians before he thought it seasonable, that he dispensed with his presence in the Army, where he was an Officer of Name, and made him reside in *London*, where he wished that temper should be improved. And when the Parliament was so much offended with his seditious humor, and the Pamphlets he published every day in Religion, with reflections upon their proceedings, that they resolved to prosecute him with great rigor (towards which the Assembly of Divines, which he had likewise provoked contributed their desire, and demand) *Cromwell* writ

**B O O K** a very passionate Letter to the Parliament, "that they  
**XIV.** " would not so much discourage their Army, that  
 " was fighting for them, as to censure an Officer of it  
 " for his opinion in point of Conscience; for the  
 " Liberty whereof, and to free themselves from the  
 " shackles in which the Bishops would enslave them,  
 " that Army had been principally raised." Upon  
 which, all farther prosecution against *Lilburn* was  
 declined at that time, though he declined not the  
 farther provocation; and continued to make the  
 Proceedings of the Parliament as odious as he could.  
 But from the time that *Cromwell* had dispersed that  
 Parliament, and was in effect in possession of the  
 Sovereign Power, *Lilburn* withdrew his favor for  
 him; and thought him now an Enemy worthy of his  
 displeasure; and, both in discourses and writings, in  
 Pamphlets and Invectives, loaded him with all the  
 Aspersions of Hypocrisy, Lying, and Tyranny, and  
 all other imputations and reproaches which either he  
 deserved, or the malice or bitterness of the other's  
 Nature could suggest to him, to make him the most  
 universally odious that a faithless perjured Person  
 could be.

*Cromwell* could bear ill language and reproaches  
 with less disturbance, and concernment, than any Per-  
 son in Authority had ever done: yet the prosecution  
 this Man exercised him with, made him plainly dis-  
 cern that it would be impossible to preserve his Dignity,  
 or to have any security in the Government, whilst  
 His Licence continued; and therefore, after he had  
 set spies upon him to observe his Actions, and collect  
 his Words, and upon advice with the Council at Law



of the State, was confidently informed, "that, as well  
 " by the old established Laws, as by new Ordinances,  
 " *Lilburn* was guilty of High-Treason, and had for-  
 " feited his Life, if he were prosecuted in any Court  
 " of Justice," he caused him to be sent to *Newgate*,  
 and at the next Sessions to be indicted of High-Trea-  
 son: all the Judges being present, and the Council at  
 Law to enforce the Evidence, and all care being taken  
 for the return of such a Jury as might be fit for the im-  
 portance of the Case, *Lilburn* appeared undaunted,  
 and with the confidence of a Man that was to play a  
 Prize before the People for their own Liberty; he  
 pleaded Not-guilty, and heard all the Charge and  
 Evidence against him with patience enough, save that,  
 by interrupting the Lawyers, sometimes, who prose-  
 cuted him, and by sharp answers to some questions of  
 the Judges, he showed that he had no reverence for  
 their Persons, nor any submission to their Authority.  
 The whole day was spent in his Trial; and when he  
 came to make his Defence, he mingled so much Law  
 in his discourse to invalidate their Authority, and to  
 make it appear so Tyrannical, that neither their Lives,  
 Liberties, nor Estates were in any degree secure, whilst  
 that Usurpation was exercised; and answered all the  
 matters objected against him with such an assurance,  
 making them "to contain nothing of High-Treason,  
 " and That to be a Government against which High-  
 " Treason could not be committed;" and telling them  
 " that all true-born *English* - Men were obliged to  
 " oppose this Tyranny, as he had done purely for  
 " Their sakes and that he had done it only for their  
 " sakes, and to preserve them from being Slaves,

B O O K “ contrary to his own profit and worldly Interest :”  
 XIV. He told them “ how much he had been in *Cromwell’s*  
 “ Friendship: that he might have received any be-  
 “ nefit, or preferment from him, if he would have sat  
 “ still, and seen his Country enslaved; which because  
 “ he would not do, he was brought hither to have  
 “ his life taken from him by their Judgment; which  
 “ he apprehended not:” he defended himself with that  
 vigor, and charmed the Jury so powerfully, that,  
 against all the direction and charge the Judges could  
 give them (who assured them “ that the words and  
 “ actions fully proved against the Prisoner, were  
 “ High-Treason by the Law; and that they were  
 “ bound, by all the obligation of Conscience, to find  
 “ him guilty )” after no long consultation between  
 themselves, they returned with their Verdict, “ that he  
 “ was Not-guilty:” nor could they be persuaded by the  
 Judges to change or recede from their Verdict: which  
 infinitely enraged and perplexed *Cromwell*; who  
 looked upon it as a greater Defeat than the loss of a  
 Battle would have been. And though *Lilburn* was  
 thus acquitted in the year 1653, yet *Cromwell* would  
 never suffer him to be set at Liberty, as by the Law he  
 ought to have been, but sent him from Prison to  
 Prison, and kept him enclosed there till He himself  
 died. These two Instances of Persons not otherwise  
 considerable, are thought pertinent to be inserted, as  
 an evidence of the temper of the Nation; and how  
 far the Spirits of that time were from paying a submis-  
 sion to that power, when no body had the courage to  
 lift up their hands against it.

The King’s

Whatever uneasiness and perplexity *Cromwell* found  
 in

in his condition at home, the King found no benefit from it abroad, or from the Friendship, or the Indignation of other Princes; They had all the same terrible Apprehension of *Cromwell's* power as if he had been landed with an Army in any of their Dominions, and looked upon the King's condition as desperate, and not to be supported. The Treaty between *France* and *England* proceeded very fast; and every day produced fresh Evidence of the good Intelligence between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal. The Ships and Prisoners which had been taken when they went to relieve *Dunkirk*, and by the taking whereof *Dunkirk* had been lost, were now restored, and set at liberty; and such mutual Offices performed between them, as, with frequent evidences of Aversion from the King and his Interest, made it very manifest, to his Majesty, that his residence would not be suffered to continue longer in *France*, after the Alliance should be published with *Cromwell*; which was not yet perfected, by the Cardinal's blushing to consent to some Propositions, without which the other's fast Friendship was not to be obtained; and he was not willing that modesty should be conquered at once, though every body knew it would quickly be prostituted.

There could be no doubt but that the King was heartily weary of being in a place where he was so ill treated; where he lived so uncomfortably, and from whence he foresaw that he should soon be driven. But as he had no Money to enable him to remove, or to pay the Debts he owed there, so he knew not to what place to repair, where he might find a Civil Reception. *Holland* was bound not to admit him into

B O O K

XV.

condition  
abroad.

*Cromwell's*  
Treaty with  
*France*.

The King  
thinks of re-  
siding out  
of *France*;  
but whether?  
was the Ques-  
tion.

B O O K their Dominions, and by their Example had showed  
xiv. other Princes, and States, what conditions They  
must submit to who would be Allies to *Cromwell*.  
The King of *Spain* was at the same time contending  
with *France* for *Cromwell's* Friendship, and thought  
he had some Advantage with him by the Residence  
his Majesty had in *France*: so there could be no  
thought of repairing into *Flanders*, and that he could  
be admitted to stay there. The Protestants, in most  
places, expressed much more Inclination to his Re-  
bels than to Him. The Roman-Catholics looked upon  
him as in so desperate a condition, that he would in a  
short time be necessitated to throw himself into their  
Arms by changing his Religion, without which  
they generally declared, "they would never give him  
" the least Assistance." In this distress, his Majesty  
resumed the considerations he had formerly entered  
upon, of sending to the Diet; which was summoned  
by the Emperor to meet shortly at *Ratisbone*, to make  
choice of a King of the *Romans*. And *Germany* being  
then in Peace, the Emperor made little doubt of  
finding a concurrence in the choice of the King of  
*Hungary* his eldest Son to be made King of the *Ro-*  
*mans*, and thereby to be sure to succeed him in the  
Empire. Our King had long designed to send the  
Lord *Wilmot* on that Errand, to try what the Em-  
peror, and Princes of *Germany*, would do, in such  
a conjuncture, towards the uniting all other Princes  
with themselves, in undertaking a quarrel they were  
all concerned in, to restore a Prince so injured and  
oppressed by so odious a Rebellion; and in the mean  
time, of which there appeared to be more hope,

.



what contribution they would make towards his Support; and likewise, upon this occasion, what fit place might be found, in the nearest parts of *Germany*, for the King to repair to; where he might attend his better destiny.

It was most suitable to the occasion, and the necessity of the King's Condition, that this Affair should be despatched in as private a way as was possible, and with as little expense, it being impossible to send an Ambassador in such an Equipage, as, at such an illustrious Convention of all the Princes of the Empire, was necessary. *Wilnot* pressed very much for that Character, that he might the more easily accomplish his being made an Earl; for which he had obtained the King's promise in a fit season. And he took great pains to persuade the King, "that this was a proper season, and very much for the Advancement of his Service: but, that if he had the Title of an Earl, which would be looked upon as a high Qualification, he would not assume the Character of Ambassador, though he would carry such a Commission with him, but make all his Negotiations as a private Envoy;" of which he promised the King wonderful Effects, and pretended to have great assurance of Money, and of making Levies of Men for any Expedition. The King, rather to comply with the general expectation, and to do all that was in his power to do, than out of any hope of notable Advantage from this Agitation, was contented to make him Earl of *Rocheſter*; and gave him all such Commissions, and Credentials, as were necessary for the Employment; and sent him from *Paris* in the *Christmas*-time,

B O O K  
XIV.

The King  
makes *Wil-*  
not Earl of



“ his Majesty’s Commission;” and in the meantime the Earl of *Glencarne*, a gallant Gentleman, offered, if he were Authorized by the King, to draw a Body of Horse and Foot together in the High lands, and infect the Enemy, and be ready to submit to *Middleton*, as soon as he should arrive there with a supply of Arms and Ammunition. Accordingly the King had sent a Commission to the Earl of *Glencarne*, who behaved himself very worthily, and gave *Monk* some trouble. But he pressing very earnestly that *Middleton* might be sent over to compose some Animosities, and Emulations, which were growing up to the breaking off that Union, without which nothing could succeed, his Majesty, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* was despatched for *Ratiſbone*, sent likewise *Middleton* into *Scotland*, with some few Officers of that Nation, and such a poor supply of Arms and Ammunition, as, by the Activity and industry of *Middleton*, could be got upon the credit and contribution of some Merchants and Officers in *Holland* of that Nation, who were willing to redeem their Country from the Slavery it was in. With this very slender Assistance he Transported himself in the Winter into the High-lands; where, to welcome him, he found the few, whom he looked to find in Arms, more broken with Faction amongst themselves than by the Enemy; nor was he able to reconcile them. But after *Glencarne* had delivered his thin unarmed Troops to *Middleton*, and condescended to fight a Duel with an Inferior Officer, who provoked him to it after he was out of his Command, whether he was troubled to have another Commander over him,

B O O K

xiv.

The King sent  
a Commission  
to the Earl of  
*Glencarne*.

And *Middleton* is sent  
into *Scotland*.

**B O O K** who, upon the matter, had no other Men to Com-  
**XIV.** mand but what were raised by him, though he had  
 exceedingly pressed *Middleton's* being sent over to  
 that purpose, or whether convinced of the impos-  
 sibility of the Attempt, he retired first to his own  
 House, and then made his Peace with *Monk*, that he  
 might live quietly, and retained still his Affection  
 and Fidelity to the King; which he made manifest  
 afterwards in a more favorable conjuncture: and at  
 the same time he excused himself to the King, for  
 giving over an Enterprize which he was not able to  
 prosecute, though *Middleton* sustained it a full year  
 afterwards.

*Glencarne*  
 retired to his  
 own House;  
 and made his  
 Peace with  
*Monk*.

The truth is, the two Persons who were most concerned in that Expedition, had no degree of hope that it would be attended with any Success, the King, and *Middleton*; who had both seen an Army of that People, well provided with all things necessary, not able to do any thing where they fought upon terms more Advantageous. And how could those now, drawn together by chance, half-armed and undisciplined, be able to contend with Victorious Troops, which wanted nothing, and would hardly part with what they had got? But his Majesty could not refuse to give them leave to Attempt what they believed they could go through with; and *Middleton*, who had promised them to come to them, when he was assured he should be enabled to carry over with him two thousand Men, and good store of Arms, thought himself obliged to venture his Life with them who expected him, though he could carry no more with him than is mentioned; and by his behaviour there,



notwithstanding all discouragements, he manifested how much he would have done, if others had performed half their promises.

B O O K  
XIV.

It will not be amiss in this place to mention an Adventure that was made during his being in the High-lands, which deserves to be recorded for the honor of the Undertakers. There was attending upon the King a young Gentleman, one Mr. *Wogan*, a very handsome Person, of the age of three or four-and-twenty. This Gentleman had, when he was a youth of fifteen or sixteen years, been, by the corruption of some of his nearest Friends, engaged in the Parliament-Service against the King; where the eminency of his courage made him so much taken notice of, that he was of general estimation, and beloved by all; but so much in the friendship of *Ireton*, under whom he had the Command of a Troop of Horse, that no Man was so much in credit with him. By the time of the Murder of the King he was so much improved in Age and Understanding, that, by that horrible and impious Murder, and by the information and advice of sober Men in his conversation, he grew into so great a detestation of all that People, that he thought of nothing but to repair his own Reputation, by taking vengeance of those who had cozened and misled him: and in order thereunto, as soon as the Marquis of *Ormond* resumed the Government of *Ireland* again for the King (which was the only place then where any Arms were borne for his Majesty) Captain *Wogan* repaired thither to him through *Scotland*; and behaved himself with such signal Valor, that the Marquis of *Ormond* gave

B O O K him the Command of his own Guards, and every  
xiv. Man the Testimony of deserving it. He came over  
with the Marquis into *France*; and being restless to  
be in Action, no sooner heard of *Middleton's* being  
arrived in *Scotland*, than he resolved to find himself  
with him; and immediately asked the King's leave  
not only for himself, but for as many of the young  
Men about the Court as he could persuade to go with  
him; declaring to his Majesty, "that he resolved  
" to pass through *England*." The King, who had  
much Grace for him, dissuaded him from the Under-  
taking, for the difficulty and danger of it, and denied  
to give him leave. But neither his Majesty, nor the  
Marquis of *Ormond*, could divert him; and his im-  
portunity continuing, he was left to follow his Inclina-  
tions: and there was no News so much talked of in  
the Court, as that Captain *Wogan* would go into  
*England*, and from thence march into *Scotland* to  
General *Middleton*; and many young Gentlemen, and  
others, who were in *Paris*, listed themselves with  
him for the Expedition. He went then to the Chan-  
cellor of the Exchequer; who, during the time of  
the King's stay in *France*, executed the Office of Se-  
cretary of State, to desire the despatch of such Passes,  
Letters, and Commissions, as were necessary for the  
Affair he had in hand. The Chancellor had much  
kindness from him, and having heard of his design  
by the common talk of the Court, and from the free  
discourses of some of those who resolved to go with  
him, represented "the danger of the enterprize to  
" himself, and the dishonor that would reflect upon  
" the King, for suffering Men under his Pass, and

“ with his Commission, to expose themselves to inevitable ruin: that it was now the discourse of the Town and would without doubt be known in *England* and to *Cromwell*, before he and his Friends could get thither, so that it was likely they would be apprehended the first minute they set their foot on Shore; and how much his own particular Person was more liable to danger than other Men’s he knew well;” and, upon the whole matter, very earnestly dissuaded him from proceeding farther.

He answered most of the particular considerations with contempt of the danger, and confidence of going through with it. but with no kind of reason (a talent that did not then abound in him) to make it appear probable. Whereupon the Chancellor expressly refused to make his Despatches, till he could speak with the King; “ with whom, he said, he would do the best he could to persuade his Majesty to hinder his Journey;” with which the Captain was provoked to so great passion, that he broke into tears, and besought him not to dissuade the King; and seemed so much transported with the resolution of the Adventure, as if he would not outlive the disappointment. This passion so far prevailed with the King, that he caused all his Despatches to be made, and delivered to him. And the very next day He and his Companions, being seven or eight in number, went out of *Paris* together, and took Post for *Calais*.

They landed at *Dover*. continued their Journey to *London* and walked the Town; stayed there above three Weeks, till they had bought Horses, which

B O O K they quartered at Common Inns, and lifted Men  
xiv. enough of their Friends and Acquaintance to prosecute their purpose. And then they appointed their Rendezvous at *Barnet*, marched out of *London* as *Cromwell's* Soldiers, and from *Barnet* were sold four-score Horse well Armed, and appointed, and Quartered that Night at *St. Albans*; and from thence, by easy Journeys, but out of the Common Roads, marched safely into *Scotland*; beat up some Quarters which lay in their way, and without any misadventure joined *Middleton* in the High-lands; where poor *Wogan*, after many brave Actions performed there, received upon a Party an ordinary flesh-wound; which, for want of a good Surgeon proved mortal to him, to the very great grief of *Middleton*, and all who knew him. Many of the Troopers, when they could stay no longer there, found their way again through *England*, and returned to the King.

In the distress which the King suffered during his abode in *France*, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's part was the most uneasy and grievous. For though all who were angry with Him, were as angry with the Marquis of *Ormond*, who lived in great Friendship with him, and was in the same trust with the King in all his Counsels which were reserved from others; yet the Marquis' Quality, and the great Services he had performed, and the great sufferings he underwent for the Crown, made him above all their exceptions: and they believed his aversion from all their Devices to make marriages, and to traffick in Religion, proceeded most from the credit the other had with him. And the Queen's displeasure grew so



notorious against the Chancellor, that after he found by degrees that she would not speak to him, nor take any notice of him when she saw him, he forbore at last coming in her presence; and for many Months did not see her face, though he had the honor to lodge in the same House, the Palace Royal, where both their Majesties kept their Courts, which encouraged all who desired to ingratiate themselves with her Majesty, to express a great prejudice to the Chancellor, at least to withdraw from his conversation: and the Queen was not reserved in declaring, that she did exceedingly desire to remove him from the King; which nothing kept him from desiring also, in so uncomfortable a condition, but the conscience of his duty, and the confidence his Majesty had in his fidelity.

This disinclination towards him produced, at one and the same time, a contrivance of an odd Nature, and a Union between two seemingly irreconcilable Factions, the Papists and the Presbyterians; which was discovered to the King by a false brother, before the Chancellor had any intimation of it. The Lord *Balcarris*, with Dr. *Frazier*, and some other Scots about the Court, thought themselves enough qualified to undertake in the name of all the Presbyterians; and caused a Petition to be prepared, in which they set out, "that the Presbyterian Party had great Affections to serve his Majesty, and much power to do it; and that they had many Propositions, and Advices to offer to his Majesty, for the Advancement thereof: but that they were discouraged, and hindered from offering the same, by rea-

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The Queen's  
displeasure  
against the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
in France.

A Petition  
intended of  
the Scottish  
Presbyterians  
by Balcarris  
and Frazier,  
that the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
might be re-  
moved.

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“son that his Majesty intrusted his whole Affairs to  
“the Chancellor of the Exchequer; who was an old  
“known and declared Enemy to all their Party; in  
“whom they could repose no trust: and therefore  
“they besought his Majesty, that He might be re-  
“moved from his Council, at least not be suffered  
“to be privy to any thing that should be proposed  
“by Them; and they should then make it appear  
“how ready and how able they were in a very short  
“time to advance his Majesty’s Affairs.”

And of the  
Roman-Ca-  
tholics also,  
against him:

Another Petition was prepared in the name of his  
Roman Catholic Subjects; which said, “that all his  
“Majesty’s Party which had adhered to him, were  
“now totally suppressed; and had, for the most  
“part, compounded with his Enemies, and submit-  
“ted to their Government: that the Church-Lands  
“were all sold, and the Bishops dead, except very  
“few, who durst not exercise their Function: so  
“that he could expect no more aid from any who  
“were concerned to support the Government of the  
“Church as it had been formerly established: that  
“by the defeat of Duke *Hamilton’s* Party first, and  
“then by his Majesty’s ill success at *Worcester*, and  
“the total reduction of the Kingdom of *Scotland*  
“afterwards by *Cromwell*, his Majesty might con-  
“clude what greater aid he was to expect from the  
“Presbyterian Party. Nothing therefore remained  
“to him of hope for his Restoration, but from the  
“affection of his Roman-Catholic Subjects; who,  
“as they would never be wanting as to their Persons,  
“and their Estates which were left, so they had hope  
“to draw from the Catholic Princes, and the Pope

“ himself, such considerable assistance both in Men  
 “ and Money, that his Majesty should owe his Res-  
 “ titution, under the Blessing of God, to the sole  
 “ power and assistance of the Catholics. But they  
 “ had great reason to fear, that all these hopes would  
 “ be obstructed and rendered of no use, not only  
 “ by there being no Person about his Majesty in  
 “ whom the Catholics could have any confidence,  
 “ but by reason that the Person most trusted by him,  
 “ and through whose hands all Letters and Despatches  
 “ must pass, is a known Enemy to all Catholics;  
 “ and therefore they besought his Majesty, that that  
 “ Person, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, might  
 “ be removed from him; whereupon he should find  
 “ great benefit to accrue to his Service.” It was con-  
 cluded amongst them, that when these two Petitions  
 should be weighed and considered, the Queen would  
 easily convince his Majesty, that a Person who was  
 so odious to all the Roman-Catholics, from whose  
 Affections his Majesty had most reason to promise  
 himself relief, and to all the Protestants who could  
 contribute to his assistance or subsistence, could not  
 be fit to be continued in any Trust about him.

When matters were thus adjusted, which were the  
 longer in preparation, because the Persons concerned  
 could not, without suspicion and scandal, meet toge-  
 ther, but were to be treated with by Persons mutually  
 employed, one Mr. *Walsingham*, a Person very well  
 known to all Men who at that time knew the Palace  
 Royal, who had been employed in the affair, came to  
 the King, and whether out of ingenuity, and dislike of  
 so foul a combination, or as he thought the discovery

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The design  
 discovered by  
 one Mr.  
*Walsingham*,  
 to the  
 King: which  
 quashed them  
 both.

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would be grateful to his Majesty, informed him of the whole Intrigue, and gave a Copy of the Petitions to the King; who showed them to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and informed them of the whole design. And from this time his Majesty made himself very merry with it, and spoke of it sometimes at dinner, when the Queen was present; and asked pleasantly, “when the two “Petitions would be brought against the Chancellor “of the Exchequer?” which being quickly known to some of the Persons engaged in the prosecution, they gave it over, and thought not fit to proceed any farther in it; though both Parties continued their implacable malice towards him, nor did he find any ease or quiet by their giving over that design, their Animosities against him still breaking out one after another, as long as the King remained in *France*; the Queen taking all occasions to complain to the Queen-Regent of the King’s unkindness, that she might impure all that she disliked to the Chancellor; and the Queen-Mother of *France* was like to be very tender in a point that so much concerned herself, that any Man should dare to interpose between the Mother and the Son.

There was an accident fell out, that administered some argument to make those Complaints appear more reasonable. The Cardinal *de Retz* had always expressed great civilities towards the King, and a desire to serve him; and upon some occasional conference between them, the Cardinal asked the King, “whether “he had made any attempt to draw any Assistance “from the Pope, and whether he thought that

A discourse of  
the King’s  
with Cardinal  
*de Retz*.



“ nothing might be done that way to his advantage ?” The King told him, “ nothing had been attempted that way ; and that He was better able to judge, whether the Pope was like to do any thing for a Man of His Faith.” The Cardinal smiling, said, “ he had no thought of speaking of his Faith ;” yet in short, he spoke to him like a wise and honest Man ; that if any Overtures were made him of the change of his Religion, he must tell his Majesty, it becomes him as a Cardinal to wish his Majesty a Catholic for the saving his Soul ; but he must declare too, that if he did change his Religion, he would never be restored to his Kingdoms.” But he said, “ he did believe” (though the Pope was old, and much decayed in his generosity ; for *Innocent* the 10<sup>th</sup> was then living) “ that if some proper Application was made to the Princes of *Italy*, and to the Pope himself, though there would not be gotten wherewithal to raise and maintain Armies, there might be somewhat considerable obtained for his more pleasant Support, wherever he should chuse to reside.” He said, “ he had himself some Alliance with the Great-Duke, and interest in other Courts, and in *Rome* itself, and if his Majesty would give him leave, and trust his discretion, he would write in such a manner in his own Name to some of his Friends, as should not be of any prejudice to his Majesty if it brought him no convenience.” The King had reason to acknowledge the obligation, and to leave it to his own wisdom, what he would do. In the conclusion of the discourse, the Cardinal asked his Majesty a question or two of matter of fact, which

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The Cardinal  
de Retz sent to  
the Bastile.

he could not answer; but told him, " he would give " a punctual information of it the next day in a Letter:" which the Cardinal desired might be as soon as his Majesty thought fit, because he would, upon the receipt of it make his despatches into *Italy*. The particular things being out of the King's Memory, as soon as he returned, he asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer concerning them; and having received a punctual Account from him, his Majesty writ a Letter the next day to the Cardinal, and gave him information as to those particulars. Within very few days after this, the Cardinal coming one day to the *Louvre* to see the Queen-Mother, he was arrested by the Captain of the Guard, and sent Prisoner to the *Bastile*; and in one of his Pockets, which they searched, that Letter the King had sent to him was found, and delivered to the Queen-Regent; who presently imparted it to the Queen of *England*; and after they had made themselves merry with some improprieties in the *French*, the King having, for the secrecy, not consulted with any body, they discovered some purpose of applying to the Pope, and to other Catholic Princes; and that his Majesty should enter upon any such Counsel, without first consulting with the Queen his Mother, could proceed only from the mitigation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Her Majesty, with a very great proportion of sharpness, reproached the King for his Neglect, and gave him his Letter. The King was exceedingly sensible of the little respect the Queen-Mother had showed towards him, in communicating his Letter  
in

in that manner to his Mother; and expostulated with her for it; and took that occasion to enlarge more upon the injustice of his Mother's complaints, than he had ever done. And from that time the Queen-Mother who was in truth a very worthy Lady, showed much more kindness to the King. And a little time after, there being a Masque at the Court that the King liked very well, he persuaded the Chancellor to see it; and vouchsafed, the next Night, to carry him thither himself, and to place the Marquis of *Ormond* and Him next the Seat where all their Majesties were to sit. And when they entered, the Queen-Regent asked, "who that fat Man was who sat by the Marquis of *Ormond*?" The King told her aloud, "that was the naughty Man who did all the Mischief, and set him against his Mother:" at which the Queen herself was little less disordered than the Chancellor was. But they within hearing laughed so much, that the Queen was not displeased; and somewhat was spoken to his Advantage, whom few thought to deserve the Reproach.

At this time the King was informed by the *French* Court, "that Prince *Rupert*, who had been so long absent, having gone with the Fleet from *Holland* before the Murder of the late King, and had not been heard of in some years, was now upon the Coast of *France*, and soon after at *Nantes* in the Province of *Britain*, with the *Swallow*, a Ship of the King's, and with three or four other Ships; and that the *Constant Reformation*, another Ship of the King's, in which Prince *Maurice* had been; was cast away in the *Indies* near two years before; and

Prince *Rupert*  
with his Fleet  
arrives at  
*Nantes*.

B O O K " that Prince *Rupert* himself was returned with very  
 XIV. " ill health." The King sent presently to welcome  
 him, and to invite him to *Paris* to attend his health;  
 and his Majesty presumed that, by the Arrival of this  
 Fleet which he thought must be very rich, he should  
 receive some Money, that would enable him to re-  
 move out of *France*; of which He was as weary as  
 it was of Him.

Great Expectation was raised in the *English* Court,  
 that there would be some notable change upon the  
 Arrival of this Prince; and though he had professed  
 much kindness to the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*,  
 when he parted from *Holland*, yet there was hope  
 that he would not appear now his Friend, the rather  
 for that he had left *Ireland* with some declared un-  
 kindness towards the Marquis of *Ormond*. And all  
 Men knew that the Attorney-General, who was un-  
 satisfied with every body, would have most influence  
 upon that Prince; and that his Highness could not be  
 without credit enough with the King to introduce  
 him into business; which they thought would at least  
 lessen the Chancellor. In order to which, it was no  
 sooner known that Prince *Rupert* was landed in *France*,  
 but the Lord *Jermyn* visited, and made great court  
 to Sir *Edward Herbert*; between whom and him there  
 had been greater show of animosity than between any  
 two of the Nation who were beyond the Seas, they  
 having for some years seldom spoken to, never well  
 of, each other. And *Herbert*, who was of a rough  
 and proud nature, had declared publicly, " that he  
 " would have no Friendship with any Man who be-  
 " lieved the other to be an honest Man." Between



these two a great friendship is suddenly made; and the Attorney is every day with the Queen, who had showed a greater Aversion from him than from any Man, not only upon the business of the Duke of *Tork* but upon many other Occasions. But now she commended him to the King, "as a wise Man, of great Experience, and of great Interest in *England*."

From the death of Sir *Richard Lane*, who had been Keeper of the Great-Seal under his late Majesty, there had not only been no Officer in that place, but from the defeat at *Worcester*, the King had been without any Great-Seal, it having been there lost. But he had lately employed a Graver to prepare a Great-Seal; which he kept himself, not intending to confer that Office, whilst he remained abroad. But now the Queen pressed the King very earnestly, to make the Attorney-General Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal; which was a promotion very natural, Men ordinarily rising from the one Office to the other. The King knew the Man very well, and had neither esteem nor kindness for him; yet he well foresaw, that when Prince *Rupert* came to him, he should be pressed both by his Mother and Him so importunately, that he should not with any ease be able to refuse it. Then he believed that, if the Man himself were in good humor, he would be of great use in composing any ill humor that should arise in the Prince; to which it was apprehended he might be apt to be inclined. And therefore his Majesty thought it best (since no body dissuaded him from the Thing) to oblige him frankly himself before the Prince came; and so called him to his Council, and made him Lord Keeper of

The Queen's Mother moves the King to make Herbert Lord Keeper; and he is made.

**B O O K** the Great-Seal; with which he seemed wonderfully  
**XIV.** delighted; and for some time lived well towards every Body; though, as to any thing of business, he appeared only in his old excellent faculty of raising doubts, and objecting against any thing that was proposed, and proposing nothing himself; which was a temper of Understanding he could not rectify, and, in the present State of Affairs, did less mischief than it would have done in a time when any thing was to have been done.

Prince Rupert  
 gives an ill  
 Account of his  
 Fleet.

Before the Prince came to *Paris* he gave the King such account, as made it evident that his Majesty was to expect no Money: "that what Treasure had been gotten together, which, he confessed, had amounted to great value, had been all lost in the Ship in which himself was" (that sprung a plank in the *Indies*, when his Highness was miraculously preserved) "and, in the Boat, carried to another Ship, when that the *Antelope*, with all the Men, and all that had been gotten, sunk in the Sea; and that much of the other purchase had been likewise cast away in the Ship in which his Brother perished; which was after his own misfortune:" so that all that was brought into *Nantes*, would scarce pay off the Seamen, and discharge some debts at *Toulon*, which the Prince had contracted at his former being there, during the time that the King had been in *Holland*: And "that the Ships were all so eaten with worms, even the *Swallow* itself, that there was no possibility of setting them out again to Sea." This was all the Account the King could receive of that whole Affair, when the Prince himself came to *Paris*;

with which though the King was not satisfied, yet he knew not how to remedy it, the Prince taking it very ill that any Account should be required of him; and the Keeper quickly persuaded his Highness, that it was only the Chancellor of the Exchequer's influence, that disposed the King with so much strictness to examine his Account.

There was another design now set on foot, by which they concluded they should sufficiently mortify the Chancellor; who, they thought, had still too much credit with his Master. When the King went into *Scotland*, Mr. *Robert Long*. who hath been mentioned before, was Secretary of State; who, having been always a creature of the Queen's, and dependent upon the Lord *Jermyn*, had so behaved himself towards them. during his short stay in *Scotland* (for he was one of those who was removed from the King there, and sent out of that Kingdom) that when his Majesty returned from *Worcester* to *Paris*, they would by no means suffer that he should wait upon his Majesty; and accused him of much breach of trust, and dishonesty. and, amongst the rest, that he should say, which could be proved, "that it was impossible for any Man to serve the King honestly, and to preserve the good opinion of the Queen, and keep the Lord *Jermyn*'s favor." The truth is, that Gentleman had not the good fortune to be generally well thought of, and the King did not believe him faultless; and therefore was contented to satisfy his Mother, and would not permit him to execute his Office, or to attend in his Councils. Whereupon he left the Court, and lived privately at *Rouen*; which

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An Affair  
concerning  
Mr. Long;  
who petitions  
the King to  
be restored to  
the Secretary's  
Place:

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was the reason that the Chancellor had been com-  
 manded to execute that place, which entitled him to  
 so much trouble. Upon this conjunction between the  
 Lord *Jermyn* and the Keeper, the last of whom had  
 in all times inveighed against Mr. *Long*'s want of  
 fidelity, they agreed, that there could not be a better  
 expedient found out to lessen the Chancellor's credit,  
 than by restoring *Long* to the execution of the Secre-  
 tary's Function. Whereupon they sent for him, and  
 advised him to prepare a Petition to the King, "that  
 " he might be again restored to his Office and At-  
 " tendance, or that he might be charged with his  
 " Crimes, and be farther punished, if he did not clear  
 " himself, and appear innocent." This Petition was  
 presented to the King, when he was in Council, by  
 the Queen; who came thither only for that purpose  
 and desired that it might be read; which being done  
 the King was surpris'd, having not in the least recei-  
 ved any notice of it; and said, " that her Majesty  
 " was the principal cause that induced his Majesty to  
 " remove him from his place, and that she then be-  
 " lieved that he was not fit for the 'Trust.'" She said,  
 " she had now a better opinion of him, and that she  
 " had been misinformed." The King thought it unfit  
 to receive a Person into so near a Trust, against whose  
 fidelity there had been such public exceptions; and  
 his Majesty knew that few of his Friends in *England*  
 would correspond with him; and therefore would  
 not be persuaded to restore him. This was again put  
 all upon the Chancellor's Account, and the influence  
 He had upon the King.

is refused by  
 the King.

Whereupon  
 Mr. Long

Thereupon Mr. *Long* accused the Chancellor of



having betrayed the King; and undertook to prove that he had been over in *England*, and had private conference with *Cromwell*: which was an aspersion so impossible, that every body laughed at it: yet because he undertook to prove it, the Chancellor pressed "that a day might be appointed for him to produce his proof:" and at that day, the Queen came again to the Council, that she might be present at the Charge. There Mr. *Long* produced *Maffonet*, a Man who had served him, and afterwards been an Under-Clerk for writing Letters and Commissions, during the time of the King's being in *Scotland*, and had been taken Prisoner at *Worcester*; and, being released with the rest of the King's Servants, had been employed, from the time of the King's return, in the same Service under the Chancellor; the Man having, before the Troubles, taught the King, and the Duke of *Tork*, and the rest of the King's Children to write, being indeed the best Writer, for the fairness of the hand, of any Man in that time.

*Maffonet* said, "that after his release from his Imprisonment, and whilst he staid in *London*, he spoke with a Maid, who had formerly served him, that knew the Chancellor very well, and who assured him, that one evening she had seen the Chancellor go into *Cromwell's* Chamber at *White-Hall*; and after he had been shut up with him some hours, she saw him conducted out again." And Mr. *Long* desired time, that he might send over for this Woman, who should appear and justify it. To this impossible discourse, the Chancellor said, "he would make no other defence, than that there were Persons then

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accuses the  
Chancellor of  
the Exchequer  
of his having  
been in Eng-  
land, and con-  
versed with  
*Cromwell*.

The business  
heard in  
Council:  
*Maffonet*  
is produced  
as a hear-  
say Witness  
of it.

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“ in the Town, who, he was confident, would avow  
 “ that they had seen him once every day, from the time  
 “ he returned from *Spain* to the day on which he at-  
 “ tended his Majesty at *Paris*,” as indeed there where;  
 and when he had said so, he offered to go out of the room;  
 which the King would not have him to do. But he told  
 his Majesty, “ that it was the course; and that he ought  
 “ not to be present at the Debate that was to concern  
 “ himself;” and the Keeper, with some warmth, said  
 “ it was true;” and so he retired to his own Chamber.  
 The Lord *Jermyn*, as soon as he was gone, said,  
 “ he never thought the Accusation had any thing of  
 “ probability in it; and that he believed the Chan-  
 “ cellor a very honest Man; but the use that he  
 “ thought ought to be made of this Calumny, was,  
 “ that it appeared that an honest and innocent Man  
 “ might be calumniated, as he thought Mr. *Long* had  
 “ likewise been; and therefore they ought both to  
 “ be cleared.” The Keeper said, “ he saw not ground  
 “ enough to condemn the Chancellor; but he saw no  
 “ cause neither to declare him innocent: that there  
 “ was one Witness which declared only what he had  
 “ heard; but that he undertook also to produce the  
 “ Witness herself if he might have time; which in  
 “ justice could not be denied; and therefore he pro-  
 “ posed, that a competent time might be given to  
 “ Mr. *Long* to make out his proof; and that in the  
 “ mean time the Chancellor might not repair to the  
 “ Council:” with which Proposition the King was so  
 offended, that, with much warmth, he said, “ he dis-  
 “ cerned well the design; and that it was so false  
 “ and wicked a Charge, that, if he had no other

“ exception against Mr. *Long* than this foul and foolish Accusation, it was cause enough never to trust him.” And therefore he presently sent for the Chancellor, and as soon as he came in, commanded him to sit in his place; and told him, “ he was sorry he was not in a condition to do him more Justice than to declare him innocent;” which he did do, and commanded the Clerk of the Council to draw up a full Order for his Vindication, which his Majesty himself would sign.

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The King  
acquits the  
Chancellor.

The Keeper could not contain himself from appearing very much troubled; and said, “ if what he heard from a Person of honor, who, he thought, would justify it, were true, the Chancellor had aspersed the King in such a manner, and so much reviled his Majesty in point of his honor, that he was not fit to sit there.” The Chancellor was wonderfully surpris'd with the Charge; and humbly besought his Majesty, “ that the Lord Keeper might produce his Author, or be looked upon as the Contriver of the Scandal.” The Keeper answered, “ that if his Majesty would appoint an hour the next day for the Council to meet, he would produce the Person, who, he was confident, would justify all he had said.”

The Keeper  
accuses the  
Chancellor of;  
the Exche-  
quer of having  
spoken ill of  
the King.

The next day, the King being sat in Council, the Keeper desired that the Lord *Gerard* might be called in; who presently appeared; and being asked, “ whether he had at any time heard the Chancellor of the Exchequer speak ill of the King?” he answered, Yes. And thereupon made a relation of a conference that had passed between the Chancellor and Him a

The Lord  
Gerard pro-  
duced to  
prove it.

F O O R year before, when the King lay at *Chantilly*; "that one  
 XIV. " day, after dinner, the King took the Air, and being  
 " in the Field, his Majesty alighted out of his Coach,  
 " and took his Horse, with other of the Lords, to ride  
 " into the next Field to see a Dog set a Partridge;  
 " and that he, the Lord *Gerard* and the Chancellor  
 " remained in the Coach, when he entered into dis-  
 " course of the King's condition; and said, that he  
 " thought his Majesty was not active enough. nor  
 " did think of his business; and, that the Chancellor,  
 " who was known to have credit with him, ought  
 " to advise him to be active, for his Honor and his  
 " Interest; otherwise, his Friends would fall from  
 " him. But, that it was generally believed, that he,  
 " the Chancellor, had no mind that his Majesty  
 " should put himself into Action, but was rather for  
 " sitting still; and therefore it concerned him, for  
 " his own justification, to persuade the King to be  
 " Active, and to leave *France*, where he could not  
 " but observe that every body was weary of him,  
 " To all which the Chancellor took great pains to  
 " purge himself from being in the fault; and said,  
 " that no body could think that he could take de-  
 " light to stay in a place where he was so ill used;  
 " but laid all the fault upon the King; who, he said,  
 " was indisposed to business, and took too much  
 " delight in pleasures, and did not love to take pains;  
 " for which he was heartily sorry, but could not  
 " help it; which *Gerard* said, he thought was a great  
 " reproach and scandal upon the King, from a Man  
 " so obliged and trusted, who ought not to asperse  
 " his Master in that manner."



The Chancellor was a little out of countenance; B O O K  
 and said, "he did not expect that Accusation from XIV.  
 "any body, less that the Lord *Gerard* should discover The Chan-  
 "any private discourse that had passed a year before cellor's De-  
 "between them two, and which appeared by his fence  
 "relation to have been introduced by himself, and  
 "by his own freedom: that whosoever believed that  
 "he had a mind to traduce the King, would never  
 "believe that he would have chosen the Lord *Gerard*,  
 "who was known to be none of his Friends, to have  
 "communicated it to." He said, "he did very well  
 "remember, that the Lord *Gerard* did, at that time  
 "when they two remained alone in the Coach, very  
 "passionately censure the King's not being Active,  
 "and blamed him, the Chancellor, for not persuad-  
 "ing his Majesty to put himself into Action; and  
 "that He was generally believed to be in the fault:  
 "upon which he had asked him, what he did intend  
 "by being Active, and what that Action was,  
 "and where, to which he wished the King should be  
 "persuaded? He answered, with an increase of  
 "passion, and addition of Oaths, that rather than sit  
 "still in *France*, his Majesty ought to go to every  
 "Court in *Christendom*; that instead of sending an  
 "Ambassador who was not fit for any business, he  
 "should have gone himself to the Diet at *Ratisbone*,  
 "and solicited his own business: which would have  
 "been more effectual; and that, if he could not  
 "find any other way to put himself into Action, he  
 "ought to go into the High-lands of *Scotland* to  
 "*Middleton*, and there try his Fortune." To all which  
 the Chancellor said, he did remember that he replied,

B O O K  
XIV. “ he believed the King was indisposed to any of  
“ that Action he proposed : and though he did not  
“ believe, that he had used those Expressions, of the  
“ King’s delighting in pleasures, and not loving busi-  
“ ness so well as he ought to do, if the Lord *Gerard*  
“ would positively affirm he had, he would rather  
“ confess it, and submit himself to his Majesty’s  
“ judgment, if he thought such words proceeded  
“ from any malice in his heart towards him, than,  
“ by denying it, continue the Debate:” And then  
he offered to retire ; which the King forbid him to  
do ; upon which the Keeper was very Angry ; and  
said, “ the words amounted to an Offence of a high  
“ Nature ; and that he was sorry his Majesty was  
“ no more sensible of them : that for any Man, espe-  
“ cially a Counsellor, and a Man in so near trust,  
“ to accuse his Master of not loving his business,  
“ and being inclined to pleasures, was to do all he  
“ could to persuade all Men to forsake him ;” and  
proceeding with his usual warmth and positiveness,  
the King interrupted him ; and said, “ he did really  
“ believe the Chancellor had used those very words,  
“ because he had often said That, and much more  
“ to himself ; which he had never taken ill : that he  
“ did really believe that he was himself in fault, and  
“ did not enough delight in his business : which was  
“ not very pleasant ; but he did not know that such  
“ putting himself into Action, which was the com-  
“ mon word, as the Lord *Gerard* advised, was like  
“ to be attended with those benefits, which, he  
“ was confident, he wished.” In fine, he declared,  
“ he was very well satisfied in the Chancellor’s Affec-

tion, and took nothing ill that he had said; and directed the Clerk of the Council to enter such his Majesty's Declaration in his Book; with which both the Keeper and the Lord *Gerard* were very ill satisfied. But from that time there were no farther public attempts against the Chancellor, during the time of his Majesty's abode in *France*. But it may not be unseasonable to insert in this place, that after the King's return into *England*, there came the Woman to the Chancellor, who had been carried over to *Rouen* by *Maffonet*, and importuned by Mr. *Long* to testify that she had seen the Chancellor with *Cromwell*; for which she should have a present liberal reward in Money from him, and a good Service at *Paris*; which when the Woman refused to do, he gave her Money for her Journey back, and so she returned: of which the Chancellor informed the King. But Mr. *Long* himself coming at the same time to him, and making great Acknowledgments, and asking pardon, the Chancellor frankly remitted the injury; which Mr. *Long* seemed to acknowledge with great gratitude ever after.

The King wearied with these domestic Vexations, as well as with the uneasiness of his Entertainment, and the change he every day discovered in the countenance of the *French* Court to him, grew very impatient to leave *France*; and though he was totally disappointed of the expectation he had to receive Money by the Return of Prince *Rupert* with that Fleet, he hoped that when the Prizes should be sold, and all the Seamen discharged, and Prince *Rupert* be satisfied in his demands, which were very large,

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there would be still left the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackling, which (though they required great Charge to be fitted out again to Sea, yet) if sold, he presumed, would yield a good Sum of Money to enable him to remove, and support him some time after he was removed; for there were, besides the Ship itself, fifty good Brass-Guns on board the *Swallow*, which were very valuable. His Majesty therefore writ to Prince *Rupert* (who was returned to *Nantes* to discharge some Seamen, who still remained, and to sell the rest of the Prizes) “that he should find some good Chapmen to buy the Ships, and Ordnance, and Tackle, at the value they were worth:” which was no sooner known at *Nantes*, than there appeared Chapmen enough, besides the Marechal of *Melleray*, who being Governor of that place, and of the Province, had much Money always by him to lay out on such occasions. And the Prince writ the King word, “that he had then a good Chapman, who would pay well for the Brass-Cannon; and that he should put off all the rest at good rates.” But he writ again the next Week, “that, when he had even finished the contract for the Brass-Cannon, there came an Order from the Court, that no Man should presume to buy the Brass-Cannon, and to Marechal *Melleray* to take care that they were not carried out of that Port.”

The Prince apprehended, that this unexpected restraint proceeded from some claim and demand from *Cromwell*; and then expected, that it would likewise relate to the *Swallow* itself, if not to the other Ships; and the Marechal contributed to, and cherished this



Jealousy, that the better Markets might be made of all the rest; himself being always a sharer with the Merchants, who made any purchases of that kind: as he had, from the time that his Highness first came into that Port, always insinuated into him in confidence, and under great good will and trust, “that he should use all expedition in the sale of the Prizes, lest either *Cromwell* should demand the whole (which he much doubted) or that the Merchants, Owners of the Goods, should upon the hearing where they were, send and arrest the said Ships, and Goods, and demand restitution to be made of them in a course of Justice;” in either of which cases, he said, “he did not know, considering how things stood with *England*, what the Court would determine: though, he promised, he would extend his Authority to serve the Prince, as far as he could with his own safety; and defer the publishing and execution of any Orders he should receive, till the Prince might facilitate the despatch:” and by this kind Advice very good Bargains had been made for those Goods which had been sold; of which the Marechal had an Account to his own desire.

But when, upon this unwelcome Advertisement, the King made his Address to the Cardinal to revoke this Order; and, as the best reason to oblige him to gratify him, told him, that the Money, which should be raised “upon the Sale of those Cannon, was the only means he had to remove himself out of *France*, which he intended shortly to do, and to go to the hither-parts of *Germany*, and that his Sister, the Princess of *Orange*, and He, had some thoughts of

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“ finding themselves together, in the beginning of the  
 “ Summer, at the *Spain*: which indeed had newly  
 entered into the King’s consideration, and had been  
 entertained by the Princess Royal; the Cardinal,  
 being well pleased with the reason, told his Majesty,  
 “ that this Order was not newly made, but had been  
 “ very Ancient, that no Merchants or any private  
 “ Subjects, should buy any Brass-Ordnance in any  
 “ Port, lest ill use might be made of them; and that  
 “ the Order was not now revived with any purpose  
 “ to bring any prejudice to his Majesty; who should  
 “ be no loser by the restraint; for that himself would  
 “ buy the Ordnance, and give as much for them as  
 “ they were worth; in order to which, he would  
 “ forthwith send an Agent to *Nantes* to see the Can-  
 “ non; and, upon conference with a Person em-  
 “ ployed by the King, they two should agree  
 “ upon the price, and then the Money should be all  
 “ paid together to his Majesty in *Paris*:” intimating  
 “ that he would dispute the matter afterwards with  
 “ *Cromwell*,” as if he knew, or foresaw, that he  
 would make some demand.

It was well for the King that this condition was  
 made for the payment of this Money in *Paris*; for of  
 all the Money paid or received at *Nantes*, as well for  
 the Ships, Tackle, and Ordnance, as for the Prize-  
 Goods, not one penny ever came to the King’s hands,  
 or to his use, but what he received at *Paris* from the  
 Cardinal for the Brass-Guns which were upon the  
*Swallow*; for the valuing whereof the King sent one  
 thither to treat with the Officer of the Cardinal. All  
 the rest was disposed, as well as received, by Prince

*Rupert*;

*Rupert*; who when he returned to *Paris*, gave his Majesty a confused Account; and averred, “ that the “ expenses had been so great, that there was not “ only no Money remaining in his hands, but that “ there was a debt still due to a Merchant;” which he desired his Majesty to promise to satisfy.

The King’s resolution to go into *Germany* was very grateful to every body, more from the weariness they had of *France*, than from the foresight of any benefit and advantage that was like to accrue by the remove. But his Majesty, who needed no spurs for that Journey, was the more disposed to it by the extraordinary importunity of his Friends in *England*; who observing the strict correspondence that was between the Cardinal and *Cromwell*, and knowing that the Alliance between them was very near concluded, and being informed that there were conditions agreed upon, which were very prejudicial to the King, did really apprehend that his Majesty’s Person might be given up; and thereupon they sent *Harry Seymour*, who, being of his Majesty’s Bed-Chamber, and having his leave to attend his own Affairs in *England*, they well knew would be believed by the King, and being addressed only to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he might have opportunity to speak with the King privately and undiscovered, and return again with security, as he, and divers Messengers of that kind, frequently did. He was sent by the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton*, with the privacy of those few who were trusted by them, “ to be very importunate with the King, that he would remove out

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The King resolves to go into Germany.

Mr Harry Seymour sent to the King from his Friends in England.

B O O K “ of *France*; and to communicate to his Majesty all  
 XIV. “ which they received from Persons who were admit-  
 “ ted into many of the secret resolutions, and pur-  
 “ poses of *Cromwell*.” And because they well knew  
 in what straits the King was for Money, they found  
 some means at that time to send him a Supply of about  
 three thousand pounds; which the King received,  
 and kept with great secrecy. They sent him word  
 likewise, “ that wherever he should chuse to reside  
 “ out of *France*, they were confident his Servants in  
 “ *England*, under what persecution soever they lay,  
 “ would send him some supply: but whilst he re-  
 “ mained in *France*, no body would be prevailed  
 “ with to send to him.” The King was glad to be  
 confirmed in the resolution he had taken, by his  
 Friends advice; and that they had in some degree  
 enabled him to prosecute it; which was the more  
 valuable, because it was known to none. Yet his  
 Debts were so great in *Paris*, and the Servants who  
 were to attend him in so ill a condition, and so with-  
 out all conveniences for a Journey, that, if the Car-  
 dinal, over and above the Money for the Cannon  
 (which the King did not desire to receive till the last)  
 did not take care for the payment of all the Arrears,  
 which were due upon the Assignments they had made  
 to him, he should not be able to make his Journey.

But in this he received some ease quickly; for  
 when the Cardinal was satisfied, that his Majesty had  
 a full resolution to be gone; which he still doubted,  
 till he heard from *Holland* that the Princess Royal did  
 really provide for her Journey to the *Spaw*, he did  
 let the King know, “ that, against the time that his



" Majesty appointed his remove, his Arrears should  
 " be either entirely paid, or so much of his Debts  
 " secured to his Creditors, as should well satisfy  
 " them; and the rest should be paid to his Receiver  
 " for the charge of the Journey;" and likewise assured  
 his Majesty, " that, for the future, the monthly As-  
 " signation should be punctually paid to whomsoever  
 " his Majesty would appoint to receive it." This  
 promise was better complied with than any other  
 that had been made, till, some years after, the King  
 thought fit to decline the receiving thereof; which  
 will be remembered in it's place.

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The Cardinal  
 pays the King  
 all his Arrears  
 from France.

All things being in this state, the King declared his  
 resolution to begin his Journey, as soon as he could  
 put himself into a capacity of moving, upon the  
 receipt of the Money he expected, and all prepara-  
 tions were made for enabling the Family to be ready  
 to wait upon his Majesty, and for the better regu-  
 lating, and governing it, when the King should be  
 out of *France*; there having never been any order  
 taken in it whilst he remained there, nor could be,  
 because his Majesty had always eaten with the Queen,  
 and Her Officers had governed the expense; so that  
 by the failing of receiving Money that was promised,  
 and by the Queen's Officers receiving all that was  
 paid, to carry on the expense of their Majesties Table,  
 which the King's Servants durst not inquire into,  
 very few of his Majesty's Servants had received any  
 wages from the time of his coming from *Worcester* to  
 the remove he was now to make. Nor was it pos-  
 sible now to satisfy them what they might in justice  
 expect, but they were to be contented with such a

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Proportion as could be spared, and which might enable them without reproach and scandal, to leave *Paris* and attend him. They were all modest in their desires, hoping that they should be better provided for in another place. But now the King met with an obstruction, that he least suspected, from the extraordinary narrowness of the Cardinal's nature, and his over-good husbandry in bargaining. The Agent he had sent to *Nantes* to view the Cannon, made so many scruples and exceptions upon the price, and upon the weight, that spent much time; and, at last, offered much less than they were worth, and than the other Merchant had offered, when the Injunction came that restrained him from proceeding. The King knew not what to propose in this. The Cardinal said, "he understood not the price of Cannon himself," and therefore he had employed a Man that did; "and it was reasonable for him to govern himself by His Conduct; who assured him, that he offered as much as they could reasonably be valued at." It was moved on the King's behalf, "that he would permit others to buy them; which," he said, "he could not do, because of the King his Master's restraint; and if any Merchant, or other Person, should agree for them, *Cromwell* would demand them wherever they should be found; and there were not many that would dispute the Right with Him." In conclusion, the King was compelled to refer the matter to himself, and to accept what he was content to pay; and when all was agreed upon according to his own pleasure, he required new abatements in the manner of payment of the Money, all allowance for paying it

in Gold, and the like, fitter to be insisted on by the meanest Merchant, than by a Member of the sacred College, who would be esteemed a Prince of the Church.

Whilst the King is preparing for his Journey to meet the Princess of *Orange*, it will be fit to look back a little on the condition of the rest of his Brothers and Sisters. After that the Princess *Henrietta* had been secretly conveyed from *Oatlands* into *France*, by the Lady *Moreton* her Governess, in the Year forty-six; and the Duke of *York*, in the Year forty-eight, had made his escape from *St. James'*; where He, and the rest of the Royal Family that remained in *England*, were under the Care and Tuition of the Earl of *Northumberland*; the Parliament would not suffer, nor did the Earl desire, that the rest should remain longer under his Government. But the other two, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, were committed to the Countess of *Leicester*; to whom such an allowance was paid out of the Treasury, as might well defray their Expenses with that respect that was due to their Birth; which was performed towards them as long as the King their Father lived. But as soon as the King was Murdered, it was ordered that the Children should be removed into the Country, that they might not be the objects of respect to draw the Eyes and Application of People towards them. The Allowance was retrenched, that their Attendants and Servants might be lessened; and order was given, "that they should be treated without any Addition of Titles, and that they should sit at their Meat as the Children of the Family did. and all at one

The Condition of King Charles the first's Children after their Father's death.

B O O K " Table." Whereupon they were removed to *Pen-*  
 XIV. *hurst*, a House of the Earl of *Leicester's* in *Kent*; where  
 they lived under the Tuition of the same Countess,  
 who observed the Order of the Parliament with Obe-  
 dience enough: yet they were carefully looked to,  
 and treated with as much respect as the Lady pre-  
 tended she durst pay to them.

There, by an Act of Providence, Mr. *Lovel*, an  
 honest Man, who had been recommended to teach  
 the Earl of *Sunderland*, whose Mother was a Daughter  
 of the House of *Leicester*, became likewise Tutor to  
 the Duke of *Glocester*, who was, by that means, well  
 taught in that Learning that was fit for his Years,  
 and very well instructed in the Principles of Religion,  
 and the Duty that he owed to the King his Brother:  
 all which made the deeper impression in his very preg-  
 nant Nature, by what his memory retained of those  
 Instructions which the King his Father had, with  
 much fervor, given him before his death. But shortly  
 after, the Princess *Elizabeth*, and the Duke of *Glocester*,  
 were removed from the Government of the  
 Countess of *Leicester*, and sent into the Isle of *Wight*  
 to *Carisbrook* Castle; where *Mildmay* was Captain;  
 and the Care of them committed to him, with an  
 Assignment for their Maintenance; which he was to  
 order, and which in truth was given as a boon to  
 him; and he was required strictly, "that no Person  
 " should be permitted to kiss their hands, and that  
 " they should not be otherwise treated than as the  
 " Children of a Gentleman;" which *Mildmay* observed  
 very exactly; and the Duke of *Glocester* was not  
 called by any other Style than Mr. *Harry*. The Tutor



was continued, and sent thither with him; which pleased him very well. And here they remained at least two or three Years. The Princess died in this Place; and, according to the Charity of that time towards *Cromwell*, very many would have it believed to be by Poison; of which there was no appearance, nor any proof ever after made.

But whether this reproach and suspicion made any impression in the mind of *Cromwell*, or whether he had any jealousy that the Duke of *Glocester*, who was now about twelve years of Age, and a Prince of extraordinary Hopes both from the Comeliness and Gracefulness of his Person, and the Vivacity and Vigor of his Wit and Understanding, which made him much spoken of, might, at some time or other, be made use of by the discontented Party of his own Army to give him trouble, or whether he would show the contempt he had of the Royal Family, by sending another of it into the World to try his Fortune; he did declare one day to the Parliament, "that he was well content that the Son of the late King, who was then in *Carisbrook-Castle*, should have liberty to Transport himself into any parts beyond the Seas, as he should desire:" which was at that time much wondered at, and not believed; and many thought it a presage of a worse inclination; and for some time there was no more speech of it. But notice and advice being sent to the Duke by those who wished his Liberty, that he should prosecute the obtaining that Order and Release, He, who desired most to be out of restraint, sent his Tutor, *Mr. Lovel*, to *London*, to be advised by Friends what he should do to

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procure such an Order, and Warrant, as was necessary for his Transportation. And he, by the advice of those who wished well to the Affair, did so dexterously solicit it, that he did not only procure an Order from the Parliament that gave him Liberty to go over the Seas with the Duke, and to require *Mildmay* to permit him to Embark, but likewise five hundred pounds from the Commissioners of the Treasury, which he received, to defray the Charges and Expences of the Voyage; being left to provide a Ship himself, and being obliged to Embark at the Isle of *Wight*, and not to suffer the Duke to go on Shore in any other part of *England*.

This happened in the latter end of the Year 1652; and was so well prosecuted, that, soon after, the King received advertisement from his Sister in *Holland*, "that the Duke of *Glocester* was arrived there, "and would be the next day with her;" which was no sooner known than the Queen very earnestly desired, that he might be presently sent for to *Paris*, that she might see him; which she had never done since he was about a year old; for within such a short time after he was Born, the Troubles were so far advanced, that her Majesty made her Voyage into *Holland*, and from that time had never seen him. The King could not refuse to satisfy his Mother in so reasonable a desire, though he did suspect that there might be a farther purpose in that design of seeing him, than was then owned. And therefore he had despatched presently a Messenger to the *Ilague*, that his Brother might make all possible haste to *Paris*. He was accordingly presently sent for, and came safely to *Paris*, to the satisfaction of all who saw him.

Now all Expedition was used to provide for the King's remove, so generally desired of all; and, for the future, the Charge of governing the Expenses of the Family, and of payment of the Wages of the Servants, and indeed of issuing out all Monies, as well in Journies as when the Court resided any where, was committed to *Stephen Fox*, a young Man bred under the severe discipline of the Lord *Piercy*, now Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household. This *Stephen Fox* was very well qualified with Languages, and all other parts of Clerkship, Honesty, and Discretion. that were necessary for the discharge of such a Trust; and indeed his great Industry, Modesty, and Prudence, did very much contribute to the bringing the Family, which for so many Years had been under no Government, into very good Order; by which his Majesty, in the pinching straits of his Condition, enjoyed very much ease from the time he left *Paris*.

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Mr. Stephen  
Fox admitted  
to manage the  
King's Money.

Prince *Rupert* was now returned from *Nantes*; and finding that he should receive none of the Money the Cardinal was to pay for the Brass-Ordinance, and being every day more indisposed by the Chagrin-Humor of the Keeper (who endeavoured to enflame him against the King, as well as against most other Men, and thought his Highness did not give evidence enough of his concernment and Friendship for him, except he fell out with every Body with whom He was angry) resolved to leave the King; wrought upon, no doubt, besides the frowardness of the other Man, by the despair that seemed to attend the King's Fortune; and told his Majesty, "that he was

Prince Rupert  
leaves the  
King; and  
goes into Ger-  
many.

**B O O K** “ resolved to look after his own Affairs in *Germany*;  
**XIV.** “ and first to visit his Brother in the *Palatinate*, and  
 “ require what was due from him for his Appanage;  
 “ and then to go to the Emperor, to receive the  
 “ Money that was due to him upon the Treaty at  
 “ *Munster* ;” which was to be all paid by the Emperor;  
 from the prosecution of which purpose his Majesty  
 did not dissuade him; and, possibly, heard it with  
 more indifferency than the Prince expected; which  
 raised his natural Passion; insomuch, as the day  
 when he took his leave, that no body might imagine  
 that he had any thoughts ever to return to have any  
 relation to, or dependance upon the King, he told  
 his Majesty, “ that, if he pleased, he might dispose  
 “ of the place of Master of the Horse;” in which he  
 had been settled by the late King, and his present  
 Majesty had, to preserve that Office for him, and  
 to take away the pretence the Lord *Piercy* might have  
 to it, by his having had that Office to the Prince of  
*Wales*, recompensed Him with the place of Lord  
 Chamberlain, though not to his full content. But the  
 King bore this Resignation likewise from the Prince  
 with the same countenance as he had done his first  
 Resolution; and so, towards the end of *April*, or the  
 beginning of *May*, his Highness left the King, and  
 begun his Journey for the *Palatinate*.

Resigns to him  
 the place of  
 Master of the  
 Horse.

Shortly after the Prince was gone, the King begun  
 to think of a day for his own departure, and to make  
 a List of his Servants he intended should wait upon  
 him. He foresaw that the only end of his Journey was  
 to find some place where he might securely attend  
 such a Conjuncture, as God Almighty should give



him, that might invite him to new Activity, his present business being to be quiet; and therefore he was wont to say, "that he would provide the best he could for it, by having only such about him as could be quiet." He could not forget the vexation the Lord Keeper had always given him, and how impossible it was for him to live easily with any body; and so, in the making the List of those who were to go with him, he left his Name out; which the Keeper could not be long without knowing; and thereupon he came to the King, and asked him, "whether he did not intend that he should wait upon him? His Majesty told him, No; for that he resolved to make no use of his Great-Seal; and therefore that he should stay at *Paris*, and not put himself to the trouble of such a Journey, which he himself intended to make without the ease and benefit of a Coach:" which in truth he did, putting his Coach-Horses in a Waggon, wherein his Bed and Clothes were carried: nor was he owner of a Coach in some year after. The Keeper expostulated with him in vain upon the dishonor that it would be to him to be left behind, and the next day brought the Great-Seal, and delivered it to him; and desired "that he would sign a Paper, in which his Majesty acknowledged, that he had received again his Great Seal from him;" which the King very willingly signed; and He immediately removed his Lodging, and left the Court; and never after saw his Majesty; which did not at all please the Queen; who was as much troubled that He was to stay where She was, as that he did not go with the King.

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The Lord  
Keeper Herbert  
resigns  
his Office to  
the King.

## B O O K

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The Queen  
prevails with  
the King to  
leave the Duke  
of Gloucester  
with her.

The Queen prevailed with the King at parting, in a particular in which he had fortified himself to deny her, which was, "that he would leave the Duke of *Glocester* with her;" which she asked with so much importunity that, without very much disobliging her, he could not resist. She desired him "to consider in what condition he had been bred till he came into *France*, without Learning either exercise or language, or having ever seen a Court, or good Company; and being now in a place, and at an Age, that he might be instructed in all these, to carry him away from all these Advantages to live in *Germany*, would be interpreted by all the world, not only to be want of kindness towards his Brother, but want of all manner of respect to Her." The reasonableness of this discourse together with the King's utter disability to support him in the condition that was fit for him, would easily have prevailed, had it not been for the fear that the purpose was to pervert him in his Religion; which when the Queen had assured the King "was not in her thought, and that she would not permit any such attempt to be made," his Majesty consented to it.

Now the day being appointed for his Majesty to begin his Journey, the King desired that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might likewise part in the Queen's good grace, at least without her notable disfavor, she having been so severe towards him, that he had not for some Months presumed to be in her presence: so that though he was very desirous to kiss her Majesty's hand, he himself knew not how to make any Advance towards it. But the day before

the King was to be gone, the Lord *Piercy*, who was directed by his Majesty to speak in the Affair, and who in truth had kindness for the Chancellor, and knew the prejudice against him to be very unjust, brought him word that the Queen was content to see him, and that he would accompany him to her in the Afternoon. Accordingly at the hour appointed by her Majesty, they found her alone in her private Gallery, and the Lord *Piercy* withdrawing to the other end of the Room, the Chancellor told her Majesty, "that now she had vouchsafed to admit him into her presence, he hoped, she would let him know the ground of the displeasure she had conceived against him; that so having vindicated himself from any fault towards her Majesty, he might leave her with a confidence in his Duty, and receive her Commands, with an assurance that they should be punctually obeyed by him." The Queen, with a louder voice, and more emotion than she was accustomed to, told him, "that she had been contented to see him, and to give him leave to kiss her hand, to comply with the King's desires, who had importuned her to it; otherwise, that he lived in that manner towards her, that he had no reason to expect to be welcome to her: that she need not assign any particular miscarriage of his, since his disrespect towards her was notorious to all Men; and that all Men took notice, that he never came where she was, though he lodged under her Roof" (for the House was her's) "and that she thought she had not seen him in six Months before; which she looked upon as so high an Af-

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Upon the King's departure from France, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had an Audience of the Queen-Mother.

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“ front, that only her respect towards the King pre-  
“ vailed with her to endure it.”

When her Majesty made a pause, the Chancellor  
said, “ that her Majesty had only mentioned his pu-  
“ nishment, and nothing of his fault: that how great  
“ soever his infirmities were in defect of Understand-  
“ ing, or in good manners, he had yet never been  
“ in *Bedlam*; which he had deserved to be, if he  
“ had affected to publish to the world that he was in  
“ the Queen’s disfavor, by avoiding to be seen by  
“ her: that he had no kind of Apprehension that  
“ they who thought worst of him, would ever be-  
“ lieve him to be such a Fool, as to provoke the  
“ Wife of his dead Master, the greatness of whose  
“ Affections to her was well known to him, and the  
“ Mother of the King, who subsisted by her favor,  
“ and all this in *France*, where himself was a banished  
“ Person, and she at home, where she might oblige,  
“ or disoblige him at her pleasure. So that he was  
“ well assured, that no body would think him guilty  
“ of so much folly and madness, as not to use all the  
“ endeavours he possibly could to obtain her Grace  
“ and Protection: that it was very true, he had been  
“ long without the presumption of being in her Ma-  
“ jesty’s presence, after he had undergone many  
“ sharp Instances of her displeasure, and after he had  
“ observed some alteration and aversion in her Ma-  
“ jesty’s looks and countenance, upon his coming  
“ into the Room where she was, and during the time  
“ he staid there; which others likewise observed  
“ so much, that they withdrew from holding any  
“ conversation with him in those places, out of fear



“ to offend her Majesty: that he had often desired,  
 “ by several Persons, to know the cause of her Ma-  
 “ jesty’s displeasure, and that he might be admitted  
 “ to clear himself from any unworthy Suggestions  
 “ which had been made of him to her Majesty ; but  
 “ could never obtain that honor ; and therefore he  
 “ had conceived, that he was obliged, in good man-  
 “ ners, to remove so unacceptable an object from  
 “ the eyes of her Majesty, by not coming into her  
 “ presence ; which all who knew him, could not  
 “ but know to be the greatest Mortification that  
 “ could be inflicted upon him ; and therefore he most  
 “ humbly besought her Majesty at this Audience,  
 “ which might be the last he should receive of her,  
 “ she would dismiss him with the knowledge of what  
 “ had been taken amiss, that he might be able to  
 “ make his innocence and integrity appear: which  
 “ he knew had been blasted by the malice of some  
 “ Persons ; and thereby misunderstood and misinter-  
 “ preted by her Majesty.” But all this prevailed not  
 with her Majesty ; who, after she had, with her former passion, objected his credit with the King, and his endeavours to lessen that credit which she ought to have, concluded, “ that she should be glad to see  
 “ reason to change her opinion ;” and so, carelessly, extended her hand towards him ; which he kissing, her Majesty departed to her Chamber.

It was about the beginning of *June* in the year 1654, The King left Paris in June 1654.  
 that the King left *Paris* ; and because he made a pri-  
 vate Journey the first Night, and did not join his  
 Family till the next day, which administered much  
 occasion of discourse, and gave occasion to a bold

**B O O K** Person to publish, amongst the Amours of the *French*  
**XIV.** Court, a particular that reflected upon the Person of the King, though with less Licence than he used towards his own Sovereign, it will not be amiss in this place to mention a preservation God then wrought for the King, that was none of the least of his Mercies vouchsafed to him; and which shows the wonderful Liberty that was then taken by some near him, to promote their own designs, and projects, at the price of their Master's Honor, and the Interest of their Country, or the Sense they had of that Honor and Interest.

There was at that time in the Court of *France*, or rather in the jealousy of that Court, a Lady of great beauty, of a presence very graceful and alluring, and a wit and behaviour that captivated those who were admitted into her presence; her extraction was very noble, and her alliance the best under the Crown, her fortune rather competent, than abounding, for her degree; being the Widow of a Duke of an illustrious Name, who had been killed fighting for the King in the late Troubles, and left his Wife childless, and in her full Beauty. The King had often seen this Lady with that esteem, and inclination, which few were without, both her Beauty and her Wit deserving the homage that was paid to her. The Earl of *Bristol*, who was then a Lieutenant-General in the *French* Army, and always Amorously inclined, and the more inclined by the difficulty of the attempt, was grown powerfully in love with this Lady; and to have the more power with her, communicated those Secrets of State which concerned her safety, and

and more the Prince of *Condé*, whose Cousin-German she was; the communication whereof was of benefit, or convenience to both: yet though he made many Romantic Attempts to ingratiate himself with her, and such as would neither have become, or been safe to any other Man than himself, who was accustomed to extraordinary flights in the Air, he could not arrive at the high success he proposed. At the same time, the Lord *Crofts* was transported with the same ambition: and though his parts were very different from the other's, yet he wanted not art and address to encourage him in those Attempts, and could bear repulses with more tranquillity of mind, and acquiescence, than the other could. When these two Lords had lamented to each other their mutual infelicity, they agreed generously to merit their Mistress' favor by doing her a Service that should deserve it; and boldly proposed to her the Marriage of the King; who, they both knew, had no dislike of her Person: and they pursued it with his Majesty with all their Artifices. They added the reputation of her Wisdom and Virtue to that of her Beauty, and "that she might be instrumental to the procuring more Friends towards his Restoration, than any other Expedient then in view;" and at last prevailed so far with the King, who no doubt had a perfect Esteem of her, that he made the Overture to her of Marriage; which she received with her natural modesty and address, declaring herself "to be much unworthy of that Grace;" and beseeching and advising him "to preserve that affection and inclination for an object more equal to him, and more capable

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BOOK “ to contribute to his Service ;” using all those Arguments for refusal, which might prevail with and enflame him to new importunities.

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Though these Lords made themselves, upon this Advance, sure to go through with their design, yet they foresaw many obstructions in the way. The Queen, they knew, would never consent to it, and the *French Court* would obstruct it, as they had done that of *Mademoiselle*; nor could they persuade the Lady herself to depart from her dignity, and to use any of those arts which might expedite the design. The Earl of *Bristol* therefore, that the News might not come to his friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer by other hands, frankly imparted it to him, only as a passion of the King's that had exceedingly transported him; and then magnified the Lady, “ as “ a Person that would exceedingly cultivate the “ King's nature, and render him much more dexterous “ to advance his Fortune : ” and therefore he professed, “ that he would not dissuade his Majesty from “ gratifying so noble an affection ; ” and used many Arguments to persuade the Chancellor too to think very well of the choice. But when he found that he was so far from concurring with him, that he reproached his great presumption for interposing in an Affair of so delicate a nature, as by his Conduct might prove the ruin of the King, he seemed resolved to prosecute it no farther, but to leave it entirely to the King's own Inclination; who, upon serious reflections upon his own condition, and conference with those he trusted most, quickly concluded that such a Marriage was not like to yield much advantage to



his Cause; and so resolved to decline any farther advance towards it. Yet the same Persons persuaded him, that it was a necessary generosity to take his last farewell of her; and so, after he had taken leave of his Mother, he went so much out of his way as to visit her at her House; where those Lords made their last effort: and his Majesty, with great esteem of the Lady's Virtue, and Wisdom, the next day joined his Family, and prosecuted his Journey towards *Flanders*; his small step out of the way, having raised a confident rumor in *Paris* that he was Married to that Lady.

The King had received a Pass from the Arch-Duke for his passing through *Flanders* so warily worded, that he could not but take notice, that it was expected and provided for, that he should by no means make any unnecessary stay in his Journey; and he found the Gates of *Cambray* shut when he came thither; and was compelled to stay long in the afternoon, before they were opened to receive him; which they excused, "by reason that they understood the Enemy " was at hand, and intended to sit down before that " City;" of which there appeared in the face of all the People, and the Governor himself, a terrible Apprehension. But, upon recollection, his Majesty was well received by the Governor, and treated and lodged that night by him in his House; who was the better composed by his Majesty's assuring him, " that " the *French* Army was at a great distance from him, " and that his Majesty had passed through it the day " before" (when *Marechal Turenne* had drawn up the Army to receive his Majesty; the Duke of *York*

The King  
comes to  
*Cambray* in  
his Journey.

**B O O K** having there likewise taken his leave of the King)  
**XIV.** “and by the march that they then appeared to make,  
 “there was great reason to conclude that they had  
 “no design upon *Cambray*,” which good information made the King’s presence the more acceptable. But besides the civility of that Supper, and Lodging that Night, His Majesty had not the least Address from the Arch-Duke, who was within four or five Leagues with his Army, but passed without the least notice taken of him through those Provinces; so great a terror possessed the hearts of the *Spaniards*, lest their showing any respect to the King in his passage through their Country, should incense *Cromwell* against them, whose friendship they yet seemed to have hope of.

The King  
 passes through  
 Flanders  
 without being  
 taken notice  
 of by the  
 Arch-Duke.

At Mons he  
 meets with  
 Messengers  
 to him from  
 his Friends  
 in England.  
 They notify  
 to him the  
 State of Af-  
 fairs in  
 England,  
 relating  
 chiefly to  
 Cromwell  
 and his Army.

His Majesty intended to have made no stay, having received Letters from the *League*, that his Sister was already in her Journey for the *Spaw*. But, when he came to *Mons*, he found two Gentlemen there, who came out of *England* with Letters and Instructions from those of his Friends there who retained their old Affections. By them his Majesty was informed, that many of them recovered new Courage from the General discontent which possessed the Kingdom, and which every day increased by the continual Oppressions, and Tyranny they sustained. The Taxes and Impositions every day were augmented, and *Cromwell*, and his Council, did greater Acts of Sovereignty than ever King and Parliament had attempted. All Goals were full of such Persons as contradicted their Commands, and were suspected to wish well to the King; and there appeared such a rent among the

Officers of the Army, that the Protector was compelled to displace many of them, and to put more confiding Men in their places. And as this remedy was very necessary to be applied for his Security, so it proved of great Reputation to him, even beyond his own hope, or at least his confidence. For the licence of the Common-Soldiers, manifested in their general and public discourses, censures and reproaches of Him, and his Tyrannical proceedings (which Liberty he well knew was taken by many, that they might discover the Affections, and Inclinations of other Men, and for his Service) did not much affect him, or was not terrible to him otherwise than as they were Soldiers of this, or that Regiment, and under this or that Captain, whose Officers he knew well hated him. and who had their Soldiers so much at their Devotion, that they could lead them upon any Enterprize: and he knew well that this seditious Spirit possessed many of the principal Officers both of Horse and Foot, who hated him now, in the same proportion that they had heretofore loved him, above all the world. This loud distemper grew the more formidable to him, in that he did believe the fire was kindled and blown by *Lambert*, and that they were all conducted and inspired by his melancholic, and undiscerned Spirit, though yet all things were outwardly very fair between them. Upon this disquisition he saw hazard enough in attempting any Reformation (which the Army thought he durst not undertake to do alone, and they feared not his proceeding by a Council of War, where they knew they had many Friends) but apparent danger, and very

**B O O K** probable ruin, if he deferred it. And so trusting only  
**XIV.** to, and depending upon his own Stars, he cashiered  
ten or a dozen Officers, though not of the highest  
Command, and those whom he most apprehended,  
yet of those petulant and active humors, which made  
them for the present most useful to the others, and  
most pernicious to Him. By this experiment he found  
the example wrought great effects upon many who  
were not touched by it, and that the Men who had  
done so much mischief, being now reduced to a pri-  
vate condition, and like other particular Men, did  
not only lose all their credit with the Soldiers, but  
behaved themselves with much more wariness and  
reservation toward all other Men. This gave him  
more ease than he had before enjoyed, and raised his  
resolution how to proceed hereafter upon the like  
Provocations, and gave him great credit, and autho-  
rity, with those who had believed that many Officers  
had a greater influence upon the Army than himself.

It was very evident that he had some War in his  
purpose; for from the time that he had made a Peace  
with the *Dutch*, he took greater care to increase his  
Stores and Magazines of Arms and Ammunition, and  
to build more Ships, than he had ever done before;  
and he had given order to make ready two great  
Fleets in the Winter, under Officers who should have  
no dependance upon each other; and Land-men were  
likewise appointed to be levied. Some principal Offi-  
cers amongst these, made great professions of Duty  
to the King; and made tender of their Service to his  
Majesty by these Gentlemen. It was thought neces-  
sary to make a day's stay at *Mons*, to despatch those



Gentlemen; who were very well known, and worthy to be trusted. Such Commissions were prepared for them, and such Instructions, as were desired by those who employed them. And his Majesty gave nothing so much in Charge to the Messengers, and to all his Friends in *England* with whom he had correspondence, as “that they should live quietly, without making any desperate or unreasonable attempt, or giving advantage to those who watched them, to put them into Prison, and to ruin their Estates and Families.” He told them, “the vanity of imagining that any Insurrection could give any trouble to so well a formed and disciplined Army, and the destruction that must attend such a rash attempt: that, as he would be always ready to venture his own Person with them in any reasonable, and well formed undertaking; so he would with patience attend God’s own time for such an opportunity; and, in the mean time, he would sit still in such a convenient place as he should find willing to receive him; of which he could yet make no judgment:” however, it was very necessary that such Commissions should be in the hands of discreet and able Men, in Expectation of two Contingencies, which might reasonably be expected. The one, such a Schism in the Army, as might divide it upon contrary Interests into open Contests, and Declarations against each other, which could not but produce an equal Schism in the Government: the other, the death of *Cromwell*, which was conspired by the Levellers, under several Combinations. And if that fell out, it could hardly be imagined, that the Army would

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The King  
advises his  
Friends in  
England to be  
quiet.

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remain united to the particular design of any single Person: but that the Parliament, which had been with so much violence turned out of doors by *Cromwell*, and which took itself to be perpetual, would quickly assemble again together, and take upon themselves the supreme Government.

*Lambert*, who was unquestionably the second Person in the Command of the Army, and was thought to be the first in their Affections, had had no less hand than *Cromwell* himself in the Dissolution of that Parliament, and was principal in raising him to be Protector under the Instrument of Government; and so could never reasonably hope to be trusted, and employed by them in the absolute Command of an Army that had already so notoriously rebelled against their Masters. *Itho' Monk*, who had the absolute Command in Scotland, and was his Rival already, under a mutual jealousy, would never submit to the Government of *Lambert*, if he had no other Title to it than his own presumption; and *Harry Cromwell* had made himself so popular in *Ireland*, that he would not, probably, be commanded by a Man whom he knew to be his Father's greatest Enemy. These considerations had made that impression upon those in *England* who were the most wary and averse from any rash Attempt, that they all wished that Commissions, and all other necessary powers, might be granted by the King, and deposited in such good hands as had the courage to trust themselves with the keeping them, till such a conjuncture should fall out as is mentioned, and of which few Men thought there was reason to despair.

The King having in this manner despatched those Messengers, and settled the best way he could to correspond with his Friends, continued his Journey from *Mons* to *Numur*; where he had a pleasant passage by Water to *Liege*: from whence, in five or six hours, he reached the *Spaw*, the next day after the Princess Royal, his beloved Sister, was come thither, and where they resolved to spend two or three Months together; which they did, to their singular content and satisfaction. And for some time the Joy of being out of *France*, where his Majesty had enjoyed no other pleasure than being alive, and the delight of the Company he was now in, suspended all thoughts of what place he was next to retire to. For as it could not be fit for his Sister to stay longer from her own Affairs in *Holland*, than the pretence of her health required, so the *Spaw* was a place that no body could stay longer in than the season for the Waters continued; which ended with the Summer.

The King no sooner arrived at the *Spaw*, than the Earl of *Rocheſter* returned thither to him from his Negotiation at *Ratisbone*; where he had remained during the Diet, without owning the Character he might have assumed; yet performed all the Offices with the Emperor, and the other Princes, with less noise, and expence, and with the same success as he could have expected from any qualification. The truth is, all the *German* Princes were at that time very poor; and that meeting for the choosing a King of the *Romans*, was of vast expence to every one of them, and full of faction, and contradiction; so that they had little leisure, and less inclination, to think

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The King  
arrives at the  
*Spaw* where he  
meets the  
Princess of  
Orange.

The Earl of  
*Rocheſter*  
returns to the  
King from  
*Ratisbone*.

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The King obtains a small subsidy from the Diet in Germany.

of any business but what concerned themselves : yet in the close of the Diet, by the conduct and dexterity of the Elector of *Mentz*, who was esteemed the wisest, and most practical Prince of the Empire, and who, out of mere generosity, was exceedingly affected with the ill fortune of the King; that Assembly was prevailed with to grant a Subsidy of four Romer-months ; which is the measure of all Taxes, and impositions in *Germany*; that is, by the Romer-months, which every Prince is to pay, and cause it to be collected from their Subjects in their own method. This Money was to be paid towards the better support of the King of great *Britain*. And the Elector of *Mentz*, by his own Example, persuaded as many of the Princes as he had credit with, forthwith to pay their proportions to the Earl of *Rocheſter* ; who was solicitous enough to receive it. The whole Contribution, if it had been generously made good, had not amounted to any considerable Sum upon so important an occasion. But the Emperor himself paid nothing, nor many other of the Princes, amongst whom were the Elector *Palatine*, and the *Landgrave* of *Hesse-Cassel*, who had both received great obligations from King *James*, and the last King his Son : So that the whole that was ever paid to the King, did not amount to ten thousand pounds sterling ; a great part whereof was spent in the Negotiation of the Earl, and in the many Journeys he made to the Princes, being extremely possessed with the Spirit of being the King's General, which he thought he should not be, except he made Levies of Men ; for which he was very solicitous to make Contracts with old *German* Officers, when



there was neither Port in view, where he might Embark them, nor a possibility of procuring Ships to Transport them, though *Cromwell* had not been possessed of any naval power to have resisted them; so blind Men are, whose Passions are so strong, and their judgments so weak, that they can look but upon one thing at once.

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That part of the Money that was paid to his Majesty's use, was managed with very good Husbandry, and was a seasonable support to his well ordered Family, which with his own Expenses for his Table, and his Stable, and the Board-Wages, with which all his Servants from the highest to the lowest were well satisfied, according to the establishment after he left *France*, amounted not to above six hundred Pistoles a Month; which expence was not exceeded in many years, even until his coming into *Holland* in order to his Return into *England*. This method in the managery gave the King great ease; contented, and kept the Family in better order and humor than could reasonably have been expected; and was the more satisfactory, by the no-care, and order, that had been observed during all the residence the King had made in *France*.

The monthly  
Expenses of  
the King's  
small Family.

The King stayed not so long at the *Spaw* as he meant to have done, the small Pox breaking out there; and one of the young Ladies who attended upon the Princess Royal, being seized upon by it, died: so that his Majesty, and his Sister, upon very sudden thoughts, removed from the *Spaw* to *Aken*, or *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial, and Free Town, governed by their own Magistrates; where the King of the

The King re-  
moves to Aken  
from the Spaw.

**B O O K** *Romans* ought to receive his first Iron Crown, which  
 xlv. is kept there. This place is famous for its hot Baths,  
 whither many come after they have drank the cold  
 Waters of the *Spaw*, and was a part of the prescription  
 which the Physicians had made to the Princess, after  
 she should have finished her Waters in the other  
 Place. Upon that pretence, and for the use of those  
 Baths, the Courts removed now thither; but in  
 truth with a design that the King might make his Re-  
 sidence there, the Town being large, and the Country  
 about it pleasant, and within five hours (for the  
 Journies in those Countries are measured by hours) of  
*Maeſtricht*, the most pleasant Seat within the Domi-  
 nions of the United Provinces. The Magistrates re-  
 ceived the King so Civilly, that his Majesty, who  
 knew no other Place where he was sure to be ad-  
 mitted, resolved to stay there; and, in order there-  
 unto, contracted for a convenient House, which be-  
 longed to one who was called a Baron; whither he  
 resolved to remove as soon as his Sister, who had taken  
 the two great Inns of the Town for Her's, and the  
 King's Accommodation, should return into *Holland*.

Here the good old Secretary *Nicholas*, who had  
 remained in *Holland* from the time that, upon the  
 Treaty of *Breda*, the King had Transported himself  
 into *Scotland*, presented himself to his Majesty; who  
 received him very graciously, as a Person of great  
 Merit and Integrity from the beginning of the  
 Troubles, and always entirely trusted by the King  
 his Father. And now to him the King gave his Signet;  
 which for three years had been kept by the Chan-  
 cellor of the Exchequer, out of Friendship that it

Secretary  
*Nicholas*  
 comes hither  
 to the King  
 and the King  
 gives him the  
 Signet.

might be restored to him. And he had therefore refused in *France* to be admitted into the Secretary's Office, which he executed, because he knew that they who advised it, did it rather that *Nicholas* might not have it, than out of any kindness to himself. He held himself obliged by the Friendship, that had ever been between them, to preserve it for him; and, as soon as he came to *Aken*, desired the King to declare him to be his Secretary; which was done; by which he had a fast Friend added to the Council, and of general reputation.

When the King remained at *Aken*, he received many Expresses out of *England*, which informed him of the renewed courage of his Friends there: that the Faction and Animosity, which every day appeared between the Officers of the Army, and in *Cromwell's* Council, upon particular Interest, raised a general opinion and hope, that there would be an absolute rupture between them; when either Party would be glad to make a conjunction with the King's. In order thereunto, there was an Intelligence entered into throughout the Kingdom, that they might make use of such an occasion; and they sent now to the King to be directed by him, how they should behave themselves upon such and such contingencies; and sent for more Commissions of the same kind as had been formerly sent to them. The King renewed his Commands to them, "not to flatter themselves with vain  
"imaginations; nor to give too easy credit to ap-  
"pearances of Factions and Divisions; which would  
"always be counterfeited, that they might the more  
"easily discover the Agitations, and Transactions

The Accounts  
the King re-  
ceive here out  
of England.

He gives the  
same Advice  
as before  
to his Friends.

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The King  
receives an  
account from  
Scotland and  
Middleton.

“ of those upon whom they looked as inveterate and  
“ irreconcilable Enemies to the Government.

News came from *Scotland*, that *Middleton* had some  
Successes in the High-lands; and the *Scottish* Lords  
who were Prisoners in *England*, assured the King,  
“ that there was now so entire a Union in that Nation  
“ for his Service, that they wished his Majesty him-  
“ self would venture thither:” and the Lord *Bal-*  
*carris*. who was with the King, and intrusted by  
that People, used much Instance with him to that  
purpose; which, how unreasonable soever the Advice  
seemed to be, Men knew not how to contradict by  
proposing any thing that seemed more reasonable;  
and so underwent the reproach of being lazy and  
unactive, and unwilling to submit to any fatigue, or  
to expose themselves to any danger; without which,  
it was thought, his Majesty could not expect to be  
restored to any part of his Sovereignty.

The Chancel-  
lor of the Ex-  
chequer's  
discourse to  
the King  
concerning  
his going into  
*Scotland*.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer one day repre-  
senting to the King the sadness of his condition, and  
the general discourses of Men, and, “ that it was his  
“ Majesty's misfortune to be thought by many not to  
“ be active enough towards his own redemption,  
“ and to love his ease too much, in respect both of  
“ his Age,” and his Fortune, desired him “ to confi-  
“ der upon this news, and importunity from *Scot-*  
*land*, whether in those High-lands there might not  
“ be such a safe retreat and residence, that he might  
“ reasonably say, that with the affections of that  
“ People, which had been always firm both to his  
“ Father and Himself, he might preserve himself in  
“ safety, though he could not hope to make any



“ advance, or recover the lower Part of that Kingdom  
 “ possessed by the Enemy ; and if so , whether he  
 “ might not expect the good hand of Providence, by  
 “ some Revolution , more honorably There , than  
 “ in such Corners of other Princes Dominions, as he  
 “ might be forced to put himself into.” His Majesty  
 discoursed very calmly of that Country, part where-  
 of he had seen; of the miserable poverty of the Peo-  
 ple, and their course of Life ; and how “ impossible  
 “ it was for him to live there with security or with  
 “ health ; that, if sickness did not destroy him, which  
 “ he had reason to expect from the ill Accommoda-  
 “ tion he must be there contented with, he should  
 “ in a short time be betrayed and given up.” And  
 in this debate, he told him that melancholic Con-  
 clusion , which *David Lesley* made at *Warrington-*  
*Bridge*, which is mentioned before, when he told  
 the King, “ that those Men would never fight ;  
 which his Majesty had never , he said , told to any  
 body before. However, he said , “ if his Friends  
 “ would advise him to that Expedition , he would  
 “ transport himself into the High-lands ; though he  
 “ knew what would come of it, and that they would  
 “ be sorry for it.” which stopped the Chancellor from  
 ever saying more to that purpose. And it was not  
 long after that news came, of *Middleton’s* having been  
 like to be given up to the Enemy by the treachery of  
 that People, and of the defeat his Troops had re-  
 ceived. and that he should be at last forced to quit  
 that miserable Country ; which, however, he resolved  
 to endure, as long as should be possible.

B O O K  
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The King's  
 Reply.

The Season of the year now begun to approach

**B O O K** that would oblige the Princess Royal to return to the  
**XIV.** *Hague*, lest the jealous States, from her long absence, might be induced to contrive some Act prejudicial to her, and her Son; which she was the more liable to, from the unkind Differences between her and the Princess Dowager Mother of the deceased Prince of *Orange*, a Lady of great cunning and dexterity to promote her own Interest. The air of *Aken*, and the ill smell of the Baths, made that place less agreeable to the King than at first he believed it to be; and he wished to find a better Town to reside in, which he might be put to endure long. The City of *Cologne* was distant from *Aken* two short days Journey, and had the fame of an excellent Situation. But the People were reported to be of a proud and malicious Nature, always in Rebellion against their Bishop and Prince, and of so much Bigotry in Religion that they had expelled all Protestants out of their City, and would suffer no exercise of Religion, but of the Roman-Catholic. So that there seemed little hope that they would permit the King to reside there; the rather, because it was the Staple for the Wines of that Country, and maintained a good intelligence and trade with *England*. If the King should send thither to provide a House, and declare a purpose to stay there, and they should refuse to receive him, it might be of very ill consequence, and fright any other places, and *Aken* itself, from permitting him to return thither; and therefore that Adventure was to be avoided. At last it was concluded, that the Princess Royal should make *Cologne* her way into *Holland*; which was reasonable enough, by the convenience

venience of the River for the commodious Transportation of her Goods, and Family : and the King, accompanying her so far, might make a judgment, upon his observation, whether it would be best for him to stay there, or to return to *Aken* ; where he would leave his Family, as the place where he had taken a House, and to which he meant in few days to return. With this resolution they left *Aken*, about the middle of *September* ; and lodging one Night at *Juliers*, a little dirty Town upon a flat, not worthy to have made a Quarrel between so many of the Princes of *Europe*, nor of the fame it got by the Siege, they came the next day to *Cologne* ; where they were received with all the Respect, Pomp, and Magnificence, that could be expected, or the City could perform. The House which the Harbingers of the Princess had taken for her Reception, served likewise to accommodate the King ; and the Magistrates performed their Respects to both with all possible demonstration of civility.

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In September the King and his Sister came to Cologne.

*Cologne* is a City most pleasantly Situated upon the Banks of the *Rhine* ; of a large extent, and fair and substantial Buildings ; and encompassed with a broad and excellent Rampart, upon which are fair Walks of great Elms, where two Coaches may go on breast, and, for the beauty of it, is not inferior to the Walls of *Antwerp*, but rather superior, because This goes round the Town. The Government is under the Senate and Consuls ; of whom there was one then Consul, who said “ he was descended from “ Father to Son of a Patrician Roman Family, that “ had continued from the time the Colony was first “ planted there.” It had never been otherwise

**B O O R** subject to the Bishops, than in some points which refer  
**XIV.** to their Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction; which They sometimes endeavouring to enlarge, the Magistrates always oppose: and that gives the Subject of the discourse of Jealousies, and Contests, between their Prince and Them; which are neither so frequent, nor of that moment, as they are reported to be. The Elector never resides there, but keeps his Court at his Castle of *Bonne*, near four Miles from thence. And that Elector, who was of the House of *Bavaria*, and a melancholic and peevish Man, had not then been in the City in very many years. The Number of Churches and Religious Houses is incredible; in so much as it was then averred, "that the Religious Persons and Church-men made up a full moiety of the Inhabitants of the Town," and Their Interest and Authority so far prevailed, that, some few years before the King came thither, they expelled all those of the Protestant Religion, contrary to the Advice of the wisest of the Magistrates; who confessed "that the Trade of the Town was much decayed thereby, and the Poverty thereof much increased." And it is very possible, that the vast Number, and unskilful Zeal of the Ecclesiastical and Religious Persons, may at some time expose that noble City to the surprise of some powerful Prince, who would quickly deprive them of their long-enjoyed Privileges. And there was, in that very time of the King's stay there, a design by the *French* to have surprised it; *Schomberg* lying many days in wait there, to have performed that Service; which was very hardly prevented. The People are so much more civil than they were reported



to be, that they seem to be the most conversible, and to understand the Laws of Society and Conversation better than any other People of *Germany*. To the King they were so devoted, that when they understood he was not so fixed to the resolution of residing at *Aken*, but that he might be diverted from it, they very handsomely made tender to him of any accommodation that City could yield him, and of all the Affection and Duty they could pay him; which his Majesty most willingly accepted; and giving Order for the payment of the rent of the House he had taken at *Aken*, which he had not at all used, and other disbursements, which the Master of the House had made to make it the more convenient for his Majesty, and likewise sending very gracious Letters to the Magistrates of that Town, for the civility they had expressed towards him, he sent for that part of his Family which remained there, to attend him at *Cologne*; where he declared he would spend that Winter.

R O O K  
xiv.

The Citizens  
invite the  
King to reside  
there.

The King  
fixes there.

As soon as the King came to *Cologne*, he sent to the Neighbour-Princes, by proper messages and insinuations, for that Money, which by the grant of the Diet, that is, by their own concession, they were obliged to pay to his Majesty; which though it amounted to no great Sum, yet was of great convenience to his Support. The Duke of *Newburgh*, whose Court was at *Dusseldorp*, a small day's Journey from *Cologne*, and by which the Princess Royal was to pass if she made use of the River, sent his Proportion very generously, with many expressions of great respect and duty, and with insinuation "that he

BOOK XIV. " would be glad to receive the honor of Entertain-  
 ing the King, and his Sister, in his Palace, as she  
 " returned." However he forbore to make any so-  
 lemn Invitation, without which they could not make  
 the Visit, till some Ceremonies were first adjusted;  
 upon which that Nation is more punctual, and ob-  
 stinate, than any other People in *Europe*. He who  
 gave the Intimation, and came only with a compli-  
 ment to congratulate his Majesty's and her Royal  
 Highnesses' Arrival in those parts, was well instructed  
 in the particulars; of which there were only two of  
 Moment, and the rest were Formalities from which  
 they might recede, if those two were consented to.  
 The one was, " that the King, at their first meeting,  
 " should at least once treat the Duke with *Alteſſe*; the  
 other, " that the Duke might salute the Princess  
 " Royal;" and without consenting to these two,  
 there could be no meeting between them. Both the  
 King and his Sister were naturally enough inclined to  
 new sights, and festivities; and the King thought it  
 of moment to him to receive the respect and civility  
 of any of the *German* Princes: and among Them,  
 there were few more considerable in their Dominions,  
 and none in their Persons, than the Duke of *New-*  
*burgh*; who reckoned himself upon the same Level  
 with the Electors. And the King was informed,  
 " that the Emperor himself always treated him with  
 " *Alteſſe*;" and therefore his Majesty made no Scruple  
 of giving him the same. The matter of saluting the  
 Princess Royal was of a new and delicate nature;  
 that dignity had been so punctually preserved, from  
 the time of her coming into *Holland*, that the old

Prince of *Orange*, Father of her Husband, would never pretend to it: yet that Ceremony depending only upon the custom of Countries, and the Duke of *Newburgh* being a Sovereign Prince, inferior to none in *Germany*, and his Ambassador always covering before the Emperor, the King thought fit, and her Royal Highness consented, that the Duke should salute her. And so all matters being adjusted without any Noise, the King, about the middle of *October*, accompanied his Sister by Water to *Dusseldorp*; where they arrived between three and four of the Clock in the Afternoon; and found the Duke and his Duchess waiting for them on the side of the Water; where after having performed their mutual Civilities and Compliments, the King, and the Princess Royal, and the Duke and the Duchess of *Newburgh*, went into the Duke's Coach, and the Company into the Coaches which were provided for them, and alighted at the Castle, that was very near; where his Majesty was conducted into his Quarter, and the Princess into Her's, the Duke and the Duchess immediately retiring into their own Quarters; where they new-dressed themselves, and visited not the King again till above half an hour before Supper, and after the King and Princess had performed their Devotion.

The Castle is a very princely House, having been the Seat of the Duke of *Cleve*; which Duchy, together with that of *Juliers*, having lately fallen to Heirs Female (whereof the Mothers of the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, and Duke of *Newburgh*, were two) when all the Pretenders seizing upon that which lay most convenient to them, this of *Dusseldorp*, by

BOOK agreement, afterwards remained still to *Newburgh*; whose Father, being of the Reformed Religion in the late contention, found the House of *Brandenburgh* too strong for him. by having the Prince of *Orange* and the States his last Friends; and thereupon, that he might have a strong Support from the Emperor and King of *Spain*, became Roman-Catholic, and thereby had the Assistance he expected. At the same time he put his Son, who was then very young, to be bred under the Jesuits; by which Education, the present Duke was with more than ordinary Bigotry zealous in the Roman Religion.

He was a Man of very fine parts of knowledge; and in his manners and behaviour much the best bred of any *German*. He had the flowing civility, and language of the *French*, enough restrained, and controlled by the *German* gravity and formality; so that, altogether, he seemed a very accomplished Prince, and became himself very well, having a good Person, and graceful Motion. He was at that time above thirty, and had been married to the Sister of the former, and the then King of *Poland*; who leaving only a Daughter, he was now newly married to the Daughter of the Landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, who upon her marriage became Roman-Catholic. She had no eminent features of beauty, nor the *French* Language and Vivacity, to contribute to the Entertainment; so that she was rather a Spectator of the festivity, than a part of it. The entertainment was very splendid and magnificent in all preparations, as well for the Tables which were prepared for the Lords and the Ladies, as That where his Majesty and his



Sister and the Duke and the Ducheſs only ſat: the meals, according to the cuſtom of *Germany*, very long, with ſeveral ſorts of Muſic, both of Inſtruments and Voices; which, if not excellent, was new, and differed much from what his Maſteſty was accuſtomed to hear. There was Wine in abundance, but no Man preſſed to drink, if he called not for it; and the Duke himſelf an Enemy to all exceſſes.

After two days ſpent in this manner, in which time the King made a great Friendſhip with the Duke, which always continued, they parted; and there being near the River, diſtant another ſhort day's Journey, a handſome open Town of good receipt, called *Santen*, belonging to that part of the Duchy of *Cleve* which was aſſigned to the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, the King reſolved to accompany his Siſter thither; where having ſpent that Night, the next Morning her Royal Highneſs, after an unwilling Farewel, proſecuted her Journey to *Holland*, and his Maſteſty returned by Horſe to *Cologne*; where the ſame Houſe was prepared for him in which He and his Siſter had inhabited, whiſt ſhe ſtayed there. And by this time the end of *October* was come; which, in thoſe parts, is more than the entrance into Winter. The Magiſtrates of the City renewed their civilities, and profeſſions of reſpect to the King; which they always made good; nor could his Maſteſty have choſen a more convenient retreat in any place; and He, being well reſreſhed with the diversifications he had enjoyed, betook himſelf with great cheerefulneſs to compoſe his mind to his fortune; and, with a marvellous contentedneſs, preſcribed ſo many hours in the day

The King brings his Siſter to *Santen* in the Duchy of *Cleve*; where they part; and the King returns to *Cologne*.

His way of life there.

**B O O K** to his retirement in his Closet; which he employed  
**XIV.** in reading, and studying, both the *Italian* and *French* Languages; and, at other times, walked much upon the Walls of the Town (for, as is said before, he had no Coach nor would suffer his Sister to leave him one) and sometimes rid into the Fields; and, in the whole, spent his time very well.

The Nuncio of the Pope resided in that City, and performed all respects to his Majesty: He was a proper and grave Man, an *Italian* Bishop, who never made the least scruple at his Majesty's enjoying the liberty of his Chapel, and the exercise of his Religion, though it was very public; so that in truth his Majesty was not without any respect that could be showed to him in those parts, save that the Elector never came to see him, though he lived within little more than an hour; which he excused by some indisposition of health, and unwillingness to enter into that City; though it proceeded as much from the fullness, and moroseness of his Nature, unapt for any conversation, and averse from all civilities; which made him for a long time to defer the payment of his small Quota, which had been granted to the King by the Diet, and was at last extorted from him by an importunity unfit to have been pressed upon any other Prince, or Gentleman. This Elector's defect of urbanity was the more excusable, or the less to be complained of, since the Elector *Palatine*, so nearly allied to the Crown, and so much obliged by it, did not think fit to take any notice of the King's being so near him or to send a Messenger to salute him.

Within a short time after his Majesty's return to

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to pervert the  
Duke of  
Glocester  
in his Reli-  
gion.

*Cologne*, he received news that exceedingly afflicted him, and the more, that he knew not what remedy to apply to the mischief which he saw was likely to befall him upon it. From *Paris*, his Majesty heard, that the Queen had put away the Tutor he had left to attend his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*; who remained at *Paris*, upon her Majesty's desire, that he might learn his Exercises. The Queen had conferred with him upon "the desperateness of his condition, "in respect of the King his Brother's fortune, and "the little hope that appeared that his Majesty could "ever be restored, at least if he did not himself become Roman-Catholic; whereby the Pope, and "other Princes of that Religion, might be united in "his quarrel; which they would never undertake "upon any other obligation: that it was therefore "fit that the Duke, who had nothing to support him, "nor could expect any thing from the King, should "be instructed in the Roman-Catholic Religion; "that so, becoming a good Catholic, he might be "capable of those advantages which her Majesty "should be able to procure for him: that the Queen "of *France* would hereupon confer Abbies, and Benefices upon him, to such a value, as would maintain him in that splendor as was suitable to his Birth: that, in a little time, the Pope would make him a Cardinal; by which he might be able to do "the King his Brother much service, and contribute "to his Recovery; whereas, without this, he must "be exposed to great necessity, and misery, for that "she was not able any longer to give him maintenance." She found the Duke more resolute than

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she expected from his Age ; he was so well instructed in his Religion, that he disputed against the change ; urged the precepts he had received from the King his Father, and his dying in the Faith he had prescribed to him ; put her Majesty in mind of the promise she had made to the King his Brother at parting ; and acknowledged “ that he had obliged himself to his “ Majesty, that he would never change his Religion ; and therefore besought her Majesty, that she “ would not farther press him, at least till he should “ inform the King of it.” The Queen well enough knew the King’s mind, and thought it more excusable to proceed in that Affair without imparting it to him ; and therefore took upon her the Authority of a Mother, and removed his Tutor from him ; and committed the Duke to the care of Abbot *Mountague* her Almoner ; who, having the pleasant Abby of *Pontoise*, entertained his Highness there, sequestered from all resort of such Persons as might confirm him in his averfeness from being converted.

As soon as the King received this Advertifement, which both the Duke and his Tutor made haste to transmit to him, he was exceedingly perplexed. On the one hand, his Majesty knew the reproaches which would be cast upon him by his Enemies, who took all the pains they could to persuade the world, that he himself had changed his Religion ; and though his exercise of it was so public, wherever he was, that Strangers resorted to it, and so could bear witness of it, yet their impudence was such in their positive averment, that they persuaded many in *England*, and especially of those of the Reformed Religion



abroad, that his Majesty was in truth a Papist: and his leaving his Brother behind him in *France*, where it was evident the Queen would endeavour to pervert him, would be an Argument, that he did not desire to prevent it: on the other side, he knew well the little credit he had in *France*, and how far they would be from assisting him, in a contest of such a nature with his Mother. However, that the world might see plainly that he did all that was in his power, he sent the Marquis of *Ormond* with all possible Expedition into *France*; who, he very well knew, would readily execute his Commands. He writ a Letter of complaint to the Queen, of her having proceeded in that manner in a matter of so near importance to him, and conjured her “to discontinue the prosecution of it; and to suffer his Brother the Duke of *Glocester* to repair with the Marquis of *Ormond* to his presence.” He commanded the Duke “not to consent to any Propositions which should be made to him for the change of his Religion; and that he should follow the advice of the Marquis of *Ormond* and accompany him to *Cològne*.” And he directed the Marquis of *Ormond* “to let Mr. *Mountague*, and whosoever of the *English* should join with him, know, that they should expect such a resentment from his Majesty, if they did not comply with his Commands, as should be suitable to his honor, and to the affront they put upon him.”

The Marquis behaved himself with so much wisdom and resolution, that though the Queen was enough offended with him, and with the expostulation the King made with her, and imputed all the

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The King  
sends the  
Marquis of  
*Ormond*  
into *France*  
for him.

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King's sharpness and resolution to the Counsel he received from the Marquis and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, yet she thought not fit to extend her power in detaining the Duke, both against the King's and his own Will; and the Duke, upon the receipt of the King's Letter, declared "that he would obey his Majesty;" and the Abbot found, that he must enter into an absolute defiance with the King, if he persisted in advising the Queen not to comply with his Majesty's directions: so that, after two or three days deliberation, the Queen expressing very much displeasure at the King's proceeding, and that she should wholly be divested of the power and authority of a Mother, told the Marquis, "that the Duke might dispose of himself as he pleased; and that she would not concern herself farther, nor see him any more." And thereupon the Duke put himself into the hands of the Marquis; who immediately removed him from *Pontoise* to the House of the Lord *Hatton*, an English Lord who lived then in *Paris*; where he remained for some days, until the Marquis could borrow Money (which was no easy matter) to defray the Journey to the King. And then they quickly left *Paris*; and shortly after came to the King; who was extremely satisfied with the Marquis' Negotiation and Success; and kept his Brother always with him, till the time that he returned into *England*, the Queen remaining as much unsatisfied.

The Marquis  
brings the  
Duke to  
Cologne.

*Innocent* the tenth was now dead; who had outlived the Understanding and Judgment he had been formerly Master of, and lost all the Reputation he had formerly gotten; and, as *Jehoram*, departed without

*being desired.* He had fomented the Rebellion in *England* by cherishing that in *Ireland*; whither he had sent a light-headed Nuntio who did much mischief to his Majesty's Service, as hath been touched before. The World was in great expectation who should succeed Him, when, one day, the Duke of *Newburgh* sent a Gentleman to the King to bring him the news that Cardinal *Chigi* was chosen Pope; "of which," the Duke said, "his Majesty had great cause to be glad; which the King understood not," But the next day, the Duke himself came to the King, and told him, "that he came to Congratulate with his Majesty for the Election of the new Pope, who called himself *Alexander* the seventh; and who, he said, he was confident, would do him great Service;" and thereupon related a discourse that had passed between Him and the new Pope, when he was Nuntio at *Cologne*, some years before: When They two conferring together ("as," he said, "there was great confidence, and Friendship between them") of the Rebellion in *England*, and of the execrable Murder of the late King, the Nuntio broke out into great Passion, even with Tears, and said, "it was a monstrous thing that the two Crowns should weary and spend each other's Strength and Spirits, in so unjust and groundless a War, when they had so noble an occasion to unite their Power to Revenge that impious Murder, in which the Honor, and the Lives of all Kings, were concerned; and, he said, the Pope was concerned never to let either of them to be quiet, till he had reconciled them, and obliged all Christian Kings and States, without

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The Duke of  
Newburgh  
sends the  
King word  
that Cardinal  
Chigi was  
chosen Pope;  
and his dis-  
course with  
his Majesty  
concerning the  
making some  
application to  
the Pope for  
supply and  
assistance.

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“ consideration of any difference in Religion, to join  
 “ together for the Restoration of the King; which  
 “ would be the greatest Honor the Pope could ob-  
 “ tain in this World ” All which, he said, “ the  
 “ Nuntio spoke with so much warmth and concern-  
 “ ment, that he could not doubt, but that now God  
 “ had raised him to that Chair, he hoped, for that  
 “ end, he wou’d remember his former opinion, and  
 “ execute it himself: being,” he said, “ a Man of  
 “ the most public heart and the most superior to all  
 “ private designs, that the World had:” the Duke  
 taking great delight to remember many of his dis-  
 courses, and describing him to be such a Man, as he  
 was generally believed to be for the first two years of  
 his Reign, till he manifested his Affections with more  
 Ingenuity. The Duke desired his Majesty to consider,  
 “ whether there might not be somewhat he might  
 “ reasonably wish from the Pope; and if it were not  
 “ fit to be proposed as from his Majesty, he would  
 “ be willing to promote it in his own Name, having;  
 “ he thought, some Interest in his Holiness.” And,  
 he said, “ he was resolved to send a Person purposely  
 “ to *Rome* with his Congratulation, and to render  
 “ his Obedience to the Pope; and that he would  
 “ instruct that Person in whatsoever his Majesty  
 “ should wish: and though he could not hope that  
 “ any greater matter would be done towards his Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Restoration, till the Peace should be effected  
 “ between the two Crowns (which he knew the Pope  
 “ would labor in till he had brought it to pass) yet he  
 “ could not doubt but that, out of the generosity of  
 “ his Holiness, his Majesty would receive some



" Supply towards his better Support ; which, for  
 " the present, was all that could be expected : that  
 " the Person whom he intended to send was a Jesuit,  
 " who was at that present in *Newburgh* ; but he had,  
 " or would send for him : that though he was a Re-  
 " ligious Man, yet he was a Person of that Experi-  
 " ence, Temper, and Wisdom, that he had in-  
 " trusted him in Affairs not only of the greatest  
 " Secrecy, but in Negotiations of the greatest Import-  
 " ance ; in which he had always behaved himself  
 " with singular Prudence and Judgment ;" and he  
 " assured his Majesty " he was equal to any Trust ;  
 " and if, upon what he had said and offered, his Ma-  
 " jesty thought he might be of use to him in his  
 " Journey, he would send him to *Cologne* as soon as  
 " he came, that he might attend upon his Majesty,  
 " and receive any Commands he would vouchsafe to  
 " lay upon him."

Though the King had in truth very little hope that  
 the new Pope would be more magnanimous than the  
 old, and did believe that the Maxim, with which  
*Innocent* had answered those who would have dis-  
 posed him to Supply the King with some Money,  
 " that he could not, with a good Conscience, apply  
 " the Patrimony of the Church to the assistance and  
 " support of Heretics," would be as current Divi-  
 " nity with *Alexander*, and all his Successors, yet he  
 could not but be abundantly satisfied with the kindness  
 of the Duke of *Newburgh*, and could not conclude  
 how far his Interposition might prevail upon a Temper  
 and Constitution so refined, and without those Dregs  
 which others had used to carry about them to that

**B O O K** Promotion: therefore, after those acknowledgments  
**XIV.** which were due for the Overtures, his Majesty told him, “ that he would entirely commit it to his Wisdom, to do those Offices with the new Pope as he thought fit, since he could expect nothing but “ upon that Account; and that he would do any “ thing on His part which was fit for him to do, and “ which should be thought of moment to facilitate “ the other Pretences.” Whereupon the Duke told him, “ that the bloody Laws in *England* against the “ Roman-Catholic Religion made a very great “ noise in the World; and that his Majesty was “ generally understood to be a Prince of a tender and “ merciful Nature, which would not take delight in “ the executing so much Cruelty; and therefore he “ conceived it might be very agreeable to his inclination to declare, and promise, that when it should “ please God to Restore his Majesty to his Government, he would never suffer those Laws to be “ executed, but would cause them to be repealed; “ which generous and pious Resolution made “ known to the Pope, would work very much “ upon him, and dispose him to make an answerable return to his Majesty. The King answered, “ that his Highness might very safely undertake “ on his behalf, that if it should be in his Power, “ it should never be in his Will, to execute those “ severe Laws: but that it was not in his Power “ absolutely to repeal them; and it would be less “ in his Power to do it, if he declared that he had “ a purpose to do it: therefore, That must be left “ to time; and it might reasonably be presumed,  
 that

“ that he would not be backward to do all of that  
 “ kind which he should find himself able to do ; and  
 “ the Declaration which he then made, his Majesty  
 “ said, that he would be ready to make to the Person  
 “ the Duke meant to send, if he came to him : ” which  
 was acknowledged to be as much as could be desired.

*Germany* is the part of the World, where the Jesuits are looked upon to have the Ascendant over all other Men in the deepest mysteries of State and Policy, in-  
 somuch as there is not a Prince's Court of the Roman-  
 Catholic Religion, wherein a Man is held to be a  
 good Courtier, or to have a desire to be thought a  
 Wise Man, who hath not a Jesuit to his Confessor ;  
 which may be one of the reasons, that the Policy of that  
 Nation is so different from, and so much undervalued  
 by the other Politic Parts of the World. And there-  
 fore it is the less to be wondered at that this Duke,  
 who had himself extraordinary Qualifications, re-  
 tained that reverence for those who had taught him  
 when he was young, that he believed Them to grow,  
 and to be improved as fast as He, and so to be still  
 abler to inform him. Without doubt, he did believe  
 his Jesuit to be a very Wise Man ; and, it may be,  
 knew, that He would think so to whom he was sent :  
 and as soon as he came to him, he sent him to the  
 King to be instructed and informed of his Majesty's  
 pleasure. The Man had a very good aspect, and less  
 vanity and presumption than that Society use to have,  
 and seemed desirous to merit from the King by doing  
 him Service ; but had not the same confidence he  
 should do it, as his Master had. And when he returned  
 from *Rome*, he brought nothing with him from the

The Effect of  
this

**B O O K** Pope but general good wishes for the King's Restoration, and sharp complaints against Cardinal *Mazarin* for being deaf to all Overtures of Peace; and that till then all Attempts to serve his Majesty would be vain and ineffectual; and concerning any Supply of Money, he told the Duke, that the Pope had used the same Adage that his Predecessor had done; and so that Intrigue was determined.

An insurrection designed in England by some of the King's Party.

The rest and quiet that the King proposed to himself in this necessitated retreat, was disturbed by the impatience and activity of his Friends in *England*; who notwithstanding all his Majesty's Commands, and Injunctions, not to enter upon any sudden and rash Insurrections, which could only contribute to their own ruin, without the least benefit or advantage to His Service, were so pricked and stung by the insolence of their Enemies, and the uneasiness of their own Condition and Fortune, that they could not rest. They sent Expresses every day to *Cologne* for more Commissions and Instructions, and made an Erroneous Judgment of their own strength and power, by concluding that all who hated the present Government, would concur with them to overthrow it, at least would act no part in the defence of it. They assured the King, " that they had made sufficient  
 " provision of Arms and Ammunition, and had so  
 " many Persons engaged to appear upon any day  
 " that should be assigned, that they only desired his  
 " Majesty would appoint that day; and that they  
 " were so united, that even the discovery before the  
 " day, and the clapping up many Persons in Prison,  
 " which they expected, should not break the design."



The King doubted they would be deceived; and that, though the Persons who sent those Expresses, were very honest Men, and had served well in the War, and were ready to engage again, yet they were not equal to so great a work. However, it was not fit to discountenance or dishearten them: for, as many of his Party were too restless, and too active, so there were more of them remiss and lazy, and even abandoned to despair. The truth is, the unequal Temper of those who wished very well, and the jealousy, at least the want of confidence in each other, made the King's part exceeding difficult. Very many who held correspondence with his Majesty, and those he assigned to that Office, would not trust each other; every body chose their own knot, with whom they would converse, and would not communicate with any body else; for which they had too just excuses from the discoveries which were made every day by want of Wit, as much as want of Honesty; and so Men were cast into Prison, and kept there, upon general Jealousies. But this reservation, since they could not all resolve to be quiet, proved very grievous to the King; for he could not convert and restrain those who were too forward, by the counsel of those who stood in a better light, and could discern better what was to be done, because they could not be brought together to confer; and they who appeared to be less desperate, were by the others reproached with being less Affectionate, and to want Loyalty as much as Courage: so they who were undone upon one and the same Account, were oppressed, and torn in pieces by one and the same Enemy, and could

**B O O K** never hope for recovery but by one and the same  
**XIV.** remedy, grew to reproach and revile one another, and contracted a greater Animosity between themselves, than against their Common Adversary: nor could the King reconcile this distemper, nor preserve himself from being invaded by it.

Though the Messengers who were sent, were addressed only to the King himself, and to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and were so carefully concealed, that no Notice was taken or Advertisement sent by the many Spies, who were suborned to give Intelligence of any one Express that was sent to *Cologne*, yet they had commonly some Friend or acquaintance in the Court, with whom they conferred; and ever returned worse satisfied with those who made objections against what they proposed, or seemed to doubt that they would not be able to perform what they so confidently promised; and it was thought a very reasonable conviction of a Man who liked not the most extravagant Undertaking, if he were not ready to propose a better: so that his Majesty thought fit often to seem to think better of many things promised than in truth he did. The Messengers, which were sent this Winter to *Cologne* (who, I say still were honest Men, and sent from those who were such) proposed to the King, as they had formerly done, “that when they were  
 “in Arms, and had provided a place where his Majesty might land safely, he would then be with  
 “them, that there might be no dispute upon Command:” and in the Spring they sent to him, “that  
 “the day was appointed, the eighteenth of *April*,

Propositions to  
 the King to  
 this purpose  
 from England

“ when the Rising would be general, and many  
 “ places seized upon, and some declare for the King,  
 “ which were in the hands of the Army :” for they  
 still pretended, and did believe, “ that a part of  
 “ the Army would declare against *Cromwell* at least,  
 “ though not for the King : that *Kent* was united to  
 “ a Man ; *Dover-Castle* would be possessed, and the  
 “ whole County in Arms upon that day ; and there-  
 “ fore, that his Majesty would vouchsafe to be in  
 “ some place, concealed, upon the Sea-Coast,  
 “ which it was very easy for him to be on that day ;  
 “ from whence, upon all being made good that was  
 “ undertaken, and full Notice given to his Majesty  
 “ that it was so, he might then, and not before, trans-  
 “ port himself to that part which he thought to be in  
 “ the best posture to receive him, and might give  
 “ such other directions to the rest as he found neces-  
 “ sary :” and even all these particulars were commu-  
 nicated in confidence by the Messengers to their  
 Friends who were near the King, and who again  
 thought it but reasonable to raise the Spirits of their  
 Friends, by letting them know in how happy a con-  
 dition the King’s Affairs were in *England* ; and that  
 his Friends were in so good a posture throughout the  
 “ Kingdom, that they feared not that any discovery  
 “ might be made to *Cromwell*, being ready to own  
 “ and justify their Counsels with their Swords :” so  
 that all this quickly became more than whispered  
 throughout the Court ; and “ that the King was only  
 “ expected to be nearer *England*, how disguised so-  
 “ ever, that he might quickly put himself into the  
 “ head of the Army that would be ready to receive

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" him, whereby all emulations about Command  
 " might be prevented, or immediately taken away;  
 " and if his Majesty should now neglect this op-  
 " portunity, it might easily be concluded, that either  
 " he was betrayed, or that his Counsels were con-  
 " ducted by Men of very shallow capacities and  
 " understanding."

How weakly and improbably soever these prepa-  
 rations were adjusted, the day was positively appoint-  
 ed, and was so near, at the time when his Majesty  
 had notice of it, that it was not possible for him to  
 send Orders to contradict it; and he foresaw, that if  
 any thing should be attempted without success, it  
 would be imputed to his not being at a distance near  
 enough to countenance it. On the other hand, it  
 was neither difficult, nor hazardous to his Majesty,  
 to remove that reproach, and to be in a place from  
 whence he might advance if there were cause, or re-  
 tire back to *Cologne*, if there were nothing to do;  
 and all this with so little noise, that his absence should  
 scarce be taken notice of. Hereupon, the Messenger  
 returned with the King's approbation of the day, and  
 direction, " that as soon as the day should be past,  
 " an Express should be directed to *Flushing* at the  
 " Sign of the City of *Rouen*" (a known Inn in that  
 Town) " to inquire for an *English-man*" (whose  
 name was given him) " who should be able to in-  
 " form him, whither he should repair to speak with  
 " the King."

Before the Messenger's departure, or the King's  
 Resolution was taken, the Earl of *Rocheſter*, who  
 was always jealous that some body would be General

The King  
 approves of  
 the day of  
 Rising.



before him, upon the first news of the general disposition and resolution to be in Arms, desired the King, "that he would permit him to go over in disguise, to the end that getting to *London*, which was very easy, he might, upon advising with the principal Persons engaged, of whom there was none who had not been commanded by him, or was not inferior to him in Command, assist them in their enterprize, and make the best of that force which they could bring together: and if he found that they were not in truth competently provided to sustain the first shock, he might, by his Advice, and Authority, compose them to expect a better conjuncture, and in the mean time to give over all inconsiderate Attempts; and there would be little danger in his withdrawing back again to his Majesty."

With this Errand the Earl left *Cologne*, under pretence of pursuing his business with the *German* Princes, upon the Donative of the Diet; for which he used to make many Journies; and no body suspected that he was gone upon any other design. But when he came into *Flanders*, he was not at all reserved, but in the hours of good Fellowship, which was a great part of the day and night, communicated his purpose to any Body he did believe would keep him Company, and run the same hazard with him; and finding Sir *Joseph Wagstaff*, who had served the King in the last War very honestly, and was then watching at the Sea-Coast to take the first opportunity to Transport himself as soon as he should hear of the general Insurrection (which all Letters to all places

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The Earl of  
Rochester  
obtains leave  
of the King  
to go into  
England in  
order there-  
unto.

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Sir Joseph  
Wentworth goes  
with him.

The King  
goes from  
Cologne to  
Zealand.

mentioned as a matter resolved on) *Rocheſter* frankly declared to him what he was going about: ſo they hired a Bark at *Dunkirk*; and without any miſadventure, found themſelves in ſafety together at *London*: but many of thoſe who ſhould have been in Arms were ſeized upon, and ſecured in ſeveral Priſons.

The Meſſenger being deſpatched, the King, at the time appointed, and that he might be ſure to be near at the day, left *Cologne* very early in the Morning, attended only by the Marquis of *Ormond*, and one Groom to look to their Horſes: nor was it known to any Body, but to the Chancellor and the Secretary *Nicholas* whither the King was gone, they making ſuch relations to inquiſitive People, as they thought fit. The day before the King went, Sir *John Mennes*, and *John Nicholas*, eldeſt Son to the Secretary, were ſent into *Zealand*, to ſtay there till they ſhould receive farther Orders; the former of them being the Perſon deſigned to be at the Sign of the City of *Rouen* in *Fluſhing*, and the other to be near to prepare any thing for the King's hand that ſhould be found neceſſary, and to keep the Ciphers; both of them Perſons of undoubted fidelity.

There was a Gentleman who lived in *Middleburgh*, and of one of the beſt Families and the beſt Fortune there, who had married an *Engliſh* Lady, who had been brought up in the Court of the Queen of *Bohemia*, and was the Daughter of a Gentleman of a very noble Family, who had been long an Officer in *Holland*. The King had made this *Dutch-man* a Baronet; and ſome who were nearly acquainted with him, were confident that his Maſteſty might ſecretly reſoſe

himself in his House, without any notice taken of him, as long as it would be necessary for him to be concealed. And his Majesty being first assured of this, made his Journey directly thither, in the manner mentioned before; and being received, as he expected, in that House, he gave present notice to Sir John Mennes and Mr Nicholas, that they might know whither to resort to his Majesty upon any occasion. Upon his first Arrival there, he received intelligence, "that the Messenger who had been despatched from *Cologne*, met with cross Winds and accidents in his return, which had been his misfortune likewise in his journey thither; so that he came not so soon to *London* as was expected; whereupon some conceived that the King did not approve the day, and therefore excused themselves from appearing at the time; others were well content with the excuse, having discerned, with the approach of the day, that they had Embarked themselves in a design of more difficulty than was at first apprehended; and some were actually seized upon, and imprisoned, by which they were incapable of performing their promise." Though this disappointment confirmed the King in his former belief, that nothing solid could result from such a general combination; yet he thought it fit, now he was in a Post where he might securely rest, to expect what the Earl of *Rocheſter's* presence, of whose being in *London* he was advertised, might produce. And by this time the Chancellor of the Exchequer, according to Order, was come to *Breda*; from whence he every day might hear from, and send to the King.

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There cannot be a greater Manifestation of the universal prejudice and aversion in the whole Kingdom towards *Cromwell*, and his Government, than that there could be so many Designs and Conspiracies against him, which were communicated to so many Men, and that such signal and notable Persons could resort to *London*, and remain there, without any such information or discovery, as might enable him to cause them to be apprehended; there being no body intent and zealous to make any such discoveries, but such whose Trade it was for great Wages to give him those informations, who seldom care whether what they inform be true or no. The Earl of *Rochester* consulted with great freedom in *London* with the King's Friends; and found that the Persons Imprisoned were only taken upon general suspicion, and as being known to be of that Party, not upon any particular discovery of what they designed or intended to do; and that the same Spirit still possessed those who were at Liberty. The Design in *Kent* appeared not reasonable, at least not to begin upon; but he was persuaded (and he was very Credulous) that in the North there was a foundation of strong hopes, and a Party ready to appear powerful enough to possess themselves of *York*; nor had the Army many Troops in those Parts. In the West likewise there appeared to be a strong Combination, in which many Gentlemen were engaged, whose Agents were then in *London*, and were exceedingly importunate to have a day assigned, and desired no more, than that Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* might be Authorized to be in the Head of them; who had been well known to



them; and he was as ready to engage with them. The Earl of *Rochester* liked the countenance of the North better; and sent *Marmaduke Darcy*, a gallant Gentleman, and Nobly Allied in those Parts, to prepare the Party there; and appointed a day and place for the Rendezvous; and promised to be himself there; and was contented that Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* should go into the West; who upon conference with those of that Country, likewise appointed their Rendezvous upon a fixt day, to be within two miles of *Salisbury*. It was an Argument that they had no mean opinion of their strength, that they appointed to appear that very day when the Judges were to keep their Assizes in that City, and where the Sheriff, and principal Gentlemen of the County were obliged to give their attendance. Of both these resolutions the Earl of *Rochester*, who knew where the King was, took care to advertise his Majesty; who, from hence, had his former faint hopes renewed; and in a short time after they were so improved, that he thought of nothing more, than how he might with the greatest secrecy Transport himself into *England*; for which he did expect a sudden occasion.

Sir *Joseph Wagstaff* had been formerly Major-General of the Foot in the King's Western Army, a Man generally Beloved; and though he was rather for execution than counsel, a stout Man, who looked not far before him; yet he had a great companionableness in his nature, which exceedingly prevailed with those who, in the intermission of fighting, loved to spend their time in jollity and mirth. He, as soon as the day was appointed, left *London*, and went to

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The Earl of  
Rochester  
d signs for  
the North;  
and Wagstaff  
into the West.

B O O K some of his Friends Houses in the Country, near the  
 XIV. place, that he might assist the Preparations as much

The Rising  
 at Salisbury.

as was possible. Those of *Hampshire* were not so punctual at their own Rendezvous, as to be present at that near *Salisbury* at the hour; however, *Wagstaff*, and they of *Wiltshire*, appeared according to expectation. *Penruddock*, a Gentleman of a fair fortune, and great zeal and forwardness in the service, *Hugh Grove*, *Jones*, and other Persons of condition, were there with a Body of near two hundred Horse well Armed; which, they presumed, would every day be improved upon the access of those who had engaged themselves in the Western Association, especially after the fame of their being up, and effecting any thing, should come to their ears. They accounted that they were already strong enough to visit *Salisbury* in all its present lustre, knowing that they had many Friends there, and reckoning that all who were not against them, were for them; and that they should there increase their Numbers both in Foot, and Horse; with which the Town then abounded: Nor did their computation and conjecture fail them. They entered the City about five of the Clock in the Morning: they appointed some Officers, of which they had plenty, to cause all the Stables to be locked up, that all the Horses might be at their devotion; others, to break open the Goals, that all there might attend their Benefactors. They kept a good Body of Horse upon the Market-place, to encounter all opposition; and gave order to apprehend the Judges and the Sheriff, who were yet in their Beds, and to bring them into the Market-place with their several

Commissions, not caring to seize upon the Persons of any others.

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All this was done with so little noise or disorder, as if the Town had been all of one mind. They who were within doors, except they were commanded to come out, stayed still there, being more desirous to hear than to see what was done; very many being well pleased, and not willing that others should discern it in their Countenance. When the Judges were brought out in their Robes, and humbly produced their Commissions, and the Sheriff likewise, *Wagstaff* resolved, after he had caused the King to be proclaimed, to cause them all three to be hanged (who were half-dead already) having well considered, with the Policy which Men in such Actions are naturally possessed with, how he himself should be used if he were under their hands, chusing therefore to be beforehand with them. But he having not thought fit to deliberate this beforehand with his Friends, whereby their scrupulous Consciences might have been confirmed, many of the Country-Gentlemen were so startled with this proposition, that they protested against it; and poor *Penruddock* was so passionate to preserve their lives, as if works of this nature could be done by halves, that the Major-General durst not persist in it; but was prevailed with to dismiss the Judges, and, having taken their Commissions from them, to oblige them upon another occasion to remember to whom they owed their lives, resolving still to hang the Sheriff; who positively, though humbly, and with many tears, refused to proclaim the King; which being otherwise done, they like-

**B O O K** wise prevailed with him rather to keep the Sheriff  
**XIV.** alive, and to carry him with them to redeem an honest Man out of the hands of their Enemies. This seemed an ill omen to their future agreement, and submission to the Commands of their General; nor was the tender-heartedness so general, but that very many of the Gentlemen were much scandalized at it, both as it was a contradiction to their Commander in Chief; and as it would have been a seasonable Act of severity to have cemented those to perseverance who were engaged in it, and have kept them from entertaining any hopes but in the sharpness of their Swords.

The Noise of this Action was very great both in and out of the Kingdom, whither it was quickly sent. Without doubt it was a bold enterprise, and might have produced wonderful effects, if it had been prosecuted with the same resolution, or the same rashness. it was entered into. All that was reasonable in the general contrivance of insurrection and commotion over the whole Kingdom, was founded upon a supposition of the division and faction in the Army; which was known to be so great, that it was thought *Cromwell* durst not draw the whole Army to a general Rendezvous, out of apprehension that, when they should once meet together, he should no longer be master of them. And thence it was concluded, that, if there were in any one place such a Body brought together as might oblige *Cromwell* to make the Army, or a considerable part of it to march, there would at least be no disposition in them to fight to strengthen his Authority, which they abhorred. And many did



at that time believe, that if they had remained with that Party at *Salisbury* for some days, which they might well have done without any disturbance, their Numbers would have much increased, and their Friends farther West must have been prepared to receive them, when their retreat had been necessary by a stronger part of the Armies marching against them. *Cromwell* himself was alarmed; he knew well the distemper of the Kingdom, and in his Army, and now when he saw such a Body gathered together without any noise that durst, in the middle of the Kingdom, enter into one of the chief Cities of it, when his Judges and all the Civil power of that County was in it, and take them Prisoners, and proclaim the King in a time of full Peace, and when no Man durst so much as name him but with a reproach, he could not imagine, that such an enterprize could be undertaken without a universal Conspiracy; in which his own Army could not be innocent; and therefore knew not how to trust them together. But all this apprehension vanished, when it was known, that within four or five hours after they had performed this exploit, they left the Town with very small increase or addition to their numbers.

The truth is, they did nothing resolutely after their first Action; and were in such disorder, and discontent between themselves, that without staying for their Friends out of *Hampshire* (who were, to the number of two or three hundred Horse, upon their way, and would have been at *Salisbury* that Night) upon pretence that they were expected in *Dorsetshire*, they left the Town, and took the Sheriff with them,

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The unfortu-  
nate Issue of it.

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about two of the Clock in the Afternoon: but were so weary of their day's Labor, and their Watching the Night before, that they grew less in love with what they were about, and differed again amongst themselves about the Sheriff; whom many desired to be presently released; and that Party carried it in hope of receiving good Offices afterwards from him. In this manner they continued on their march Westward. They from *Hampshire*, and other places, who were behind them, being angry for their leaving *Salisbury*, would not follow, but scattered themselves; and they who were before them, and heard in what disorder they had left *Wiltshire*, likewise dispersed: so that after they had continued their Journey into *Devonshire*, without meeting any who would join with them, Horse and Men were so tired for want of meat and sleep, that one single Troop of Horse, inferior in number, and commanded by an Officer of no credit in the War, being in those parts by chance, followed them at a distance, till they were so spent, that he rather intreated than compelled them to deliver themselves; some, and amongst those *Wagstaff*, quitted their Horses, and found shelter in some honest Men's Houses; where they were concealed till opportunity served to Transport them into the parts beyond the Seas, where they arrived safely. But Mr. *Penruddock*, Mr. *Grove*, and most of the rest, were taken Prisoners, upon promise given by the Officer that their Lives should be saved; which they quickly found he had no Authority to make good. For *Cromwell* no sooner heard of his cheap Victory, than he sent Judges away with a new Commission of Oyer and

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and Terminer, and Order to proceed with the utmost severity against the Offenders. But *Roles*, his Chief-Justice, who had so luckily escaped at *Salisbury*, had not recovered the fright; and would no more look those Men in the Face who had dealt so kindly with him; but expressly refused to be employed in the service, raising some scruples in point of Law, whether the Men could be legally condemned; upon which *Cromwell*, shortly after, turned him out of his Office, having found others who executed his Commands. *Penruddock*, and *Grove*, lost their heads at *Exeter*; and others were hanged there; who having recovered the faintness they were in when they surrendered, died with great courage and resolution, professing their Duty and Loyalty to the King: many were sent to *Salisbury*, and tried and executed there, in the place where they had so lately triumphed; and some who were condemned, where there were Fathers, and Sons, and Brothers, that the Butchery might appear with some remorse, were reprieved, and sold, and sent Slaves to the *Barbadoes*; where their treatment was such, that few of them ever returned into their own Country. Thus this little fire, which probably might have kindled and enflamed all the Kingdom, was for the present extinguished in the West; and *Cromwell* secured without the help of his Army; which he saw, by the Countenance it then showed when they thought he should have use of them, it was high time to reform; and in that he resolved to use no longer delay.

The Design of the North, which was thought to be much better prepared and provided for, made less

The ill success  
likewise of the

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design in the  
North.

noise, and expired more peaceably. The Earl of *Rocheſter*, who ſaw danger at a diſtance with great courage, and looked upon it leſs reſolutely when it was nearer, made his Journey from *London*, with a Friend or two, into *Yorkſhire* at the time appointed; and found ſuch an appearance of Gentlemen upon the place, as might very well have deſerved his patience. There had been ſome miſtake in the Notice that had been given, and they who did appear, undertook for many who were abſent, that, if he would appoint another ſhort day for a Rendezvous, he ſhould be well attended. *Marmaduke Darcy* had ſpent his time very well amongſt them, and found them well diſpoſed, and there could be no danger in ſtaying the time propoſed, many of them having Houſes, where he might be well concealed, and the Country generally wiſhed well to the King, and to thoſe who concerned themſelves in his Affairs. But he took many exceptions; complained, as if they had deceived him; and aſked many Queſtions, which were rather reaſonable than ſeaſonable, and which would have furniſhed reaſons againſt entering upon the deſign, which were not to be urged now when they were to execute, and when indeed they ſeemed to have gone too far to retire. He had not yet heard of the ill Succeſs at *Salisbury*; yet he did not think the force which the Gentlemen were confident they could draw together, before they could meet with any oppoſition, ſufficient to enter upon any Action, that was like to be dangerous in the end: So he reſolved to ſtay no longer; the Gentlemen being as much troubled that he had come at all; they parted with little good Will to each



other, the Earl returning through by-roads to *London*, which was the securest place, from whence he gave the King notice of the hopelessness of Affairs. If he had not been a Man very fortunate in disguises, he could never have escaped so many perambulations. For as he was the least wary in making his Journeys in safe hours, so he departed very unwillingly from all places where there was good eating and drinking; and entered into Conferences with any Strangers he met, or joined with.

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The Earl of  
Rochester  
returns to  
London; whence he  
advises the  
King of the ill  
success.

When he returned from the North, he lodged at *Aylebury*; and having been observed to ride out of the way in a large ground, not far from the Town, of which he seemed to take some Survey, and had asked many questions of a Country-Fellow who was there (that ground in truth belonging to his own Wife) the next Justice of Peace had notice of it; who being a Man devoted to the Government, and all that Country very ill affected always to the King, and the News of *Salisbury*, and the Proclamation there-upon, having put all Men upon their Guard, came himself to the Inn where the Earl was; and being informed, that there were only two Gentlemen above at Supper (for Sir *Nicholas Armorer* was likewise with the Earl, and had accompanied him in that Journey) he went into the Stable; and upon view of the Horses found they were the same which had been observed in the Ground. The Justice commanded the keeper of the Inn, one *Giley*, who, besides that he was a Person notoriously affected to the Government, was likewise an Officer, "that he should not suffer those  
" Horses, nor the Persons to whom they belonged,

An accident  
that befel him  
in his return.

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“ to go out of the House, till he, the said Justice, came thither in the Morning; when he would examine the Gentlemen, who they were, and from whence they came.” The Earl was quickly advertised of all that passed below, and enough apprehensive of what must follow in the Morning. Whereupon he presently sent for the Master of the House, and no body being present but his Companion, he told him, “ he would put his Life into his hands; which he might destroy or preserve: that he could get nothing by the one, but by the other he should have profit, and the good Will of many Friends, who might be able to do him good.” Then he told him who he was; and as an earnest of more benefit that he might receive hereafter, he gave him thirty or forty *Jacobus's*, and a fair gold Chain, which was more worth to be sold than one hundred pounds. Whether the Man was moved by the reward, which he might have possessed without deserving it, or by generosity, or by wisdom and foresight, for he was a Man of a very good Understanding, and might consider the Changes which followed after, and in which this Service proved of advantage to him, he did resolve to permit and contrive their Escapes: and though he thought fit to be accountable to the Justice for their Horses, yet he caused two other, as good for their purpose, of his own, to be made ready by a trusty Servant in another Stable; who, about Midnight, Conducted them into *London-way*; which put them in Safety. The Inn-keeper was visited in the Morning by the Justice; whom he carried into the Stable, where the Horses still stood, he having

still kept the Key in his own Pocket, not making any doubt of the Persons whilst he kept their Horses; but the Inn-keeper confessed they were Escaped out of his House in the Night, how or whither he could not imagine. The Justice threatened loud; but the Inn-keeper was of that unquestionable Fidelity, and gave such daily demonstration of his Affection to the Common-wealth, that *Cromwell* more suspected the connivance of the Justice (who ought not to have deferred the examination of the Persons till the Morning) than the Integrity of a Man so well known as the Inn-Keeper was. The Earl remained in *London* whilst the inquiry was warm and importunate, and afterwards easily procured a passage for *Flanders*; and so returned to *Cologne*.

As soon as the King received Advertisement of the ill Successes in *England*, and that all their hopes were for the present blasted there, he left *Zealand*, and, returning by *Breda*, staid in a Dorp near the Town, till the Chancellor of the Exchequer attended him; and then returned with all speed to *Cologne*; where his little Court was quickly gathered together again, and better disposed to sit still, and expect God's own time. His Majesty was exceedingly afflicted with the loss of so many honest Gentlemen in *England*, who had engaged themselves so desperately, not only without, but expressly against his Majesty's Judgment: and he was the more troubled, because he was from several of his Friends from thence advertised, "that all his Counsels were discovered; " and that *Cromwell* had perfect Intelligence of what- " soever his Majesty resolved to do, and of all he

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The King  
leaves Zea-  
land; and  
returns to  
Cologne.

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“ said Himself; so that it would not be safe for any  
 “ Body to correspond with him, or to meddle in his  
 “ Affairs or Concernments: that his coming into  
 “ *Zealand* and his continuance there, was known  
 “ to *Cromwell*, with all the particulars of his Motion;  
 “ that many Persons of condition were seized upon,  
 “ and imprisoned for having a design to possess them-  
 “ selves of some Towns, and Places of strength;  
 “ which Intelligence could not be given but from  
 “ *Cologne*,” implying, “ that the miscarriage in all  
 “ the last designs, proceeded wholly from the Treachery  
 “ of some Persons near his Majesty.” The King  
 did not at all wonder that *Cromwell*, and his Instruments, took great pains to make it generally be believed, that they knew all that was resolved or thought of at *Cologne*; but that any Men who were really devoted to his Service, and who had kindness and esteem for all those who were trusted by his Majesty, should be wrought upon to believe those reports, very much disturbed him.

The discovery of the Treachery of Manning; and a particular account of it.

Whilst he was in this Agony, and immediately after his return to *Cologne*, a discovery was made of a Villany, that made him excuse his Friends in *England* for their Jealousy, and yet composed his own mind from any fear of being betrayed, it being an Imposture of such a Nature, as was dangerous and ridiculous together. There was one *Manning*, a proper young Gentleman, bred a Roman-Catholic in the Family of the Marquis of *Worcester*, whose Page he had been. His Father, of that Religion likewise, had been a Colonel in the King's Army; and was slain at the Battle of *Alresford*; where this young Man, being



then a Youth, was hurt, and maimed in the left Arm and Shoulder. This Gentleman came to *Cologne* shortly after the King came thither first, and pretended, “ that he had sold the incumbered fortune his Father had left him; upon which, he had enough “ to maintain him, and resolved to spend it in waiting upon the King, till his Majesty should be “ able to raise an Army; in which he hoped to have “ an opportunity to revenge his Father’s blood;” with many discourses of that Nature; and he brought a Letter to Dr. *Earles* from his Uncle *Manning*, who was well known to him, to commend his Nephew to his conversation. He was a handsome Man, had store of good Clothes, and plenty of Money; which, with the memory of his Father, easily introduced him, and made him acceptable to the Company that was there. He knew most of the King’s Party in *England*, and spoke as if he were much trusted by them, and held correspondence with them; and had every Week the Diurnal, and the News of *London*, which seldom else came so far as *Cologne*. He associated himself most with the good-fellows, and ate in their company, being well provided for the expense. By degrees, he insinuated himself with the Earl of *Rochester*, and told him, “ that all the King’s Party looked “ upon him, as the General who must govern and “ command them; for which they were very impatient: that he himself would be ready to run his “ Fortune, and attend him into *England*; and that “ he had two hundred good Men listed, who would “ appear well Mounted and Armed, whenever he “ should require them; and that he knew where

BOOK " good Sums of Money lay ready to be applied to  
 XIV. " that Service." The Earl was ravished with this  
 discourse, and looked upon him as a Man sent from  
 Heaven to advance his designs; and asked him,  
 " whe her he had been with the Chancellor of the  
 " Exchequer, and communicated all this to him?"  
 He said " he had, at his first coming to Town waited  
 " upon the Chancellor; and intended to have spoken  
 " of this, and much more than he had yet spoken, if  
 " He had been vacant, or willing to hear: but he  
 " seemed to him too reserved; which he imputed  
 " then to some business that possessed him, and there-  
 " fore made him a second visit; when he found him  
 " with the same wariness, and without a desire to be  
 " informed by him concerning the Affairs of that  
 " Kingdom; so that he resolved to visit him no more."  
 In the end, he told the Earl, " that he would im-  
 " part a secret to him of the last importance, and  
 " which he had not yet had opportunity to inform  
 " the King of, and, he did believe, it would be the  
 " same thing to impart it to his Lordship as to his  
 " Majesty himself: the Sum was, that he was trusted  
 " by the young Earl of *Pembroke*, whose affections  
 " were entire for his Majesty, to assure the King of  
 " the same; and that though it would not be safe for  
 " him to appear in the head, and beginning of an  
 " Insurrection, he would advance it as much as if he  
 " were there in Person; and because he knew the  
 " West was better prepared to begin the Work than  
 " any other part of the Kingdom, he had caused  
 " three thousand pounds to be laid aside, and kept  
 " ready at *Wilton*, which should be delivered to any

“ Man, who, in the King’s Name, should require it  
“ of such a Man” (naming a Person, who was known  
to be much trusted by that Earl) “ upon delivery of  
“ a private Token he produced out of his Pocket”  
( which was a clean piece of Paper, sealed with three  
impressions of an Antic head in hard Wax ) “ which,  
he said, “ the Earl required him to present to the  
“ King when he thought it might be seasonable.” He  
added, “ that he would be glad to be himself in that  
“ first engagement, and so to be present when that  
“ Token should be delivered; yet he considered, that  
“ he was not enough known to have such a Secret  
“ imparted to him, as the time of such an action  
“ ought to be; and therefore, if it pleased the King,  
“ he would presently deliver that Token into his  
“ Lordship’s hands; who, he was confident, would  
“ be the first that would have opportunity to em-  
“ ploy it.”

The Earl had the Journey then in his head, which  
he made shortly after; and thought such a Treasure  
as this would much advance the service. He made  
haste to inform the King of the whole, that he might  
have his approbation to receive the Token. To that  
purpose, he brought the Man to the King; who had  
never before taken other notice of him, than for his  
bringing the Diurnal constantly to be read to his  
Majesty after dinner, or supper, as he received it. He  
made a large Relation to the King of what the Earl  
of *Pembroke* had commanded him to say, and pre-  
sented the Token to his Majesty for the three thou-  
sand pounds; the manner of his discourse being such,  
as the King had not the least suspicion of the truth

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of it. As soon as he left the King, the Earl brought him to the Chancellor, conjuring him to use him with great kindness, and gently reproaching him for his want of Courtesy to him before; which he wondered at; for it was very true that *Manning* had visited him twice before, and it was as true, that he had received him with as much civility as was possible, having known his Father, and most of his Family, and was glad to see him frequently at Prayers, well knowing that he had been bred a Roman Catholic; and the young Man had seemed much pleased with the Reception he had given him. But from that time that he made that Relation concerning the Earl of *Pembroke*, which he repeated over to him as he had related it to the King, the Chancellor always suspected him; and could not prevail with himself to have any familiarity with him; which the other complained heavily of, and the Chancellor was much reproached for not treating a Person of so much merit, who had lost his Father and had been himself maimed in the King's Service, with more openness; for he did always use him with all necessary civility. But the Chancellor's knowledge of the Earl of *Pembroke*, and of the humor that then possessed him, and of the uneasiness of his own fortune, which did not make him at that time Master of much Money, besides that he believed that, if the thing were true, he should have received advertisement sooner of it from a Person who was most trusted by the Earl, and who corresponded very constantly with the Chancellor, made him distrust him. He therefore told the King, "that he doubted *Manning* had made that part of the



“ story to make himself the more welcome ;” which his Majesty did not think was a reasonable jealousy ; but wished him to use all the means he could to discover the truth. The Chancellor had no farther suspicion of him than upon the account of that story, nor the least apprehension that he was a Spy.

When it was publicly known that the King was absent from *Cologne*, at that time that he made his Journey to *Zealand*, in the manner that is mentioned before, the Earl of *Rocheſter* being departed from thence some time before, Mr. *Manning* appeared wonderfully troubled, and complained to some, “ that he being intrusted by all the King’s friends, “ who would not credit any Orders but such as “ should pass through his hands the King was now “ gone without imparting it to him ; which would “ be the ruin of his design.” He went to the Chancellor, and lamented himself, “ that there should be “ any Sword drawn in *England* before His ; his Father’s blood boiled within him and kept him from “ sleep.” He desired him therefore, “ that he would so “ far communicate the design to him, that he might “ only know to what part of *England* to transport “ himself, that he might be in action as soon as might “ be possible.” He could draw nothing from the Chancellor ; who told him, “ that he knew of no probability of any Action ; and therefore could give “ no advice.” Upon which he complained much of the Chancellor’s want of kindness to him : but he lost no time in following the King ; and having great acquaintance with *Herbert Price*, a Man much trusted by the Earl of *Rocheſter*, and that affected to know,

BOOK or to be thought to know the greatest secrets, he  
 XIV. prevailed with him, upon bearing his Charges, to accompany him, that they might find out where the King was, at least that they might be ready on the Sea-Coast, to transport themselves into *England* upon the first occasion. Whether by accident, or that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had made any mention of *Zealand* to Mr. *Price*, thither they both came; and ſeeing Sir *John Mennes*, and Mr. *Nicholas* there, they believed there might likewiſe be others of their *Cologne*-friends. *Herbert Price*, as he was a Man of a very inquiſitive nature, watched ſo narrowly, that he found an opportunity to meet the King in an Evening, when he uſed to walk to take a little Air after the Day's confinement. The King, ſince he was diſcovered, thought it beſt to truſt him; and charged him "not only to  
 "make no diſcovery, but to remove out of the Iſland,  
 "leſt his being ſeen there, might raiſe ſuſpicion in  
 "other Men." He did very importunately deſire the King that he might bring *Manning* to ſpeak with him, as not only an honeſt Man (as no doubt he thought him to be) but a Man of that importance and truſt, as might contribute much to his preſent Service. But the King would by no means admit him, nor did he ſee him; yet afterwards, upon this reflection, his Maſteſty concluded that *Cromwell* came to be informed of his being in *Zealand*, without any reproach to Mr. *Price*'s fidelity; which was not ſuſpected, though his preſumption, and importunity, were always very inconvenient.

Shortly after the King's return to *Cologne*, *Manning* likewiſe came thither with his accuſtomed confi-

dence. And in this time the Chancellor received Advertisement from *England*, "that he had no kind of trust from the Earl of *Pembroke*, but on the contrary, had been turned out of his Service upon matter of dishonesty; and that he was a loose Person, of no Reputation:" and his Majesty was informed by others from *Antwerp*, "that every Post brought many Letters for him, which were taken up there, and transmitted to *Cologne*; and that he had Letters of credit upon a Merchant of *Antwerp* for good Sums of Money." All this raised a suspicion in the King; who gave direction to a trusty Person, who was purposely sent to take up all those Letters at *Antwerp*, which were sent thither from *England* for him, it being known under what cover they came, and likewise those which were sent from *Cologne* by him, his address being likewise discovered. By this means the Party returned with many great Packets both from, and to him; which being opened, and read, administered matter of great amazement. There were Letters from *Thurlow*, *Cromwell's* Secretary and principal Minister, containing the satisfaction the Protector received in the particular Intelligence he received from him, with short Instructions how he should behave himself. The Person employed had been so dexterous, that he brought with him *Manning's* Letters of three Posts, all full of the most particular things done at *Cologne*; and the particular words said by the King, and Others, that must needs affect those who should receive the Intelligence; but of all which there was nothing true; no such Action had been done, no such word spoken.

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In one Letter, after such information as he thought fit, he said, "that by the next he should send such advice as was of much more moment than he had ever yet sent, and above what he had given from *Zealand*, and by which they might see, that there was nothing so secret at *Cologne*, of which he could not be informed, if he had Money enough;" and therefore desired the Bill for the thousand Crowns might be despatched. Together with this, the Letter of the subsequent Post was likewise seized upon; and by his Method which was afterwards discovered, it was very probable that they were both sent at one and the same time, and by the same Post, though they were of several dates. That of the latter date was very long, and in it was inclosed an Overture or Design for the surprize and taking of *Plymouth*; in which there was a very exact and true description of the Town, and Fort, and Island, and the present Strength and Force that was there. Then a Proposition, that a Vessel with five hundred Men (there were no more desired) should come to such a place (a Creek described) and upon a sign then given, such a place in the Town should be first seized upon, whilst others should possess both the Fort, and the Island. The Names of the Persons who undertook to do both the one, and the other, were likewise set down; and they were all Men known to be well affected to the King, who, with the assistance of that five hundred Men, might indeed be able to master the place. For the better going through the Work when it was thus begun, there was an undertaking that *Sr. Hugh Pollard*, and other Persons named, who were all notable Men for



their Zeal to the King's Service, should be ready from the *Devonshire*-side, as Colonel *Arundel* and others from *Cornwal*, to second and support what was to be done. BOOK  
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The Letter informed, "that when the King delivered that Paper to the Council" (which, he said, "he had received from a very good hand;" and then the Marquis of *Ormond* made this, and this objection, and others found this, and that difficulty in the Execution of the Enterprize, all which the Chancellor Answered very clearly, and the King himself said very much of the easiness of the Undertaking) "there was one difficulty urged, that the King himself appeared to be startled at, and looked upon the Chancellor; who arose from his place, and went to the King's Chair, and whispered somewhat in his Ear. Whereupon his Majesty told the Lords, that he had indeed forgot somewhat that the Chancellor put him in mind of, and for that particular they should refer the care of it to Him, who would take it upon him; and so the matter was resolved, and the Earl of *Rochester* undertook for the five hundred Men," and their transportation. *Manning* concluded, "that if he had Money, they should know constantly how this design should be advanced, or any other set on foot." Every Body was exceedingly amazed at this relation, in which there was not one syllable of truth. There had never such a Proposition been made, nor was there any such debate or discourse. There were in his Letter many vain insinuations of his Interest, as if he were never out of the King's company. Two of the King's Servants were sent to seize upon his Person, and his Papers; who found

**B O O K** him in his Chamber writing, and his Cipher and  
**XIV.** Papers before him; all which they possessed themselves of without any resistance. There were several Letters prepared, and made up with the dates proper for many Posts to come, with information, and intelligence, of the same nature as the former.

The Secretary of State, and one of the Lords of the Council, were sent to examine him; to whom he confessed, without any reserve, “ that the Necessity  
 “ of his Fortune had exposed him to that base condition of Life; and, to make himself fit for it, he had  
 “ dissembled his Religion; for, he said, he remained still a Catholic: that he was sent over by *Thurloe*  
 “ to be a Spy wherever the King should be, and had constantly sent him Intelligence, for which he had  
 “ received good Sums of Money; yet, that he had been so troubled in mind for the villainy of the  
 “ Life he led, that he was resolved, by raising great expectations in them, to draw a good Sum of  
 “ Money from them; and then to renounce farther correspondence, and to procure the King’s Pardon,  
 “ and faithfully to serve him.” Being asked, why he made such Relations, which had no truth in them, he answered, “ that if he had come to the knowledge  
 “ of any thing which in truth had concerned the King, he would never have discovered it; but he  
 “ thought it would do no prejudice to the King, if he got Money from the Rebels by sending them  
 “ Lies, which could neither do Them good, nor hurt his Majesty; and therefore all his care was  
 “ to amuse them with particulars, which he knew  
 “ would please them; and so when he was alone he  
 always

“ always prepared Letters containing such things BOOK  
 “ as occurred to his Invention, to be sent by the suc- XIV.  
 “ ceeding Posts. and that he had never written any  
 “ thing that was true, but of his Majesty’s being in  
 “ *Zealand*; which, he believed, could produce no  
 “ prejudice to him.”

The King now discerned from whence all the Apprehensions of his Friends proceeded; and that they had too much ground for their Jealousies; for though none of his Counsels had been discovered, they who had received those Letters, might reasonably think that none of them were concealed; and might well brag to their Confidants of their knowing all that the King did. By this means, such particulars were transmitted to the King’s Friends, as could not but very much amuse them, and, no doubt, was the cause of the commitment of very many Persons, and of some who had no purpose to suffer for their Loyalty. His Majesty took care to publish the Transactions of this Man, with the Method of the Intelligence he gave; by which his Friends discerned with what shadows they had been affrighted, and his Enemies likewise discovered what current Ware they had received for their Money: yet they endeavoured to have it believed that he was not a Man sent over by Them, but a Secretary in great Trust about some Person employed, whom they had corrupted: in which Men were likewise quickly undeceived, and knew that he was a Man without any dependance or relation to, or countenance from the Court: and the Wretch, soon after, received the reward due to his Treason.

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Cromwell's  
advantage  
by the Ri-  
sings of the  
King's Party.

As the King's hopes were much Eclipsed in *Eng-land* by the late unseasonable Attempt, and the loss of so many gallant Persons, as perished, or were undone in it; so *Cromwell* advanced his own Credit, and was very much enriched by it, and more confirmed with those who were of doubtful Faith towards him. He lay before under the reproach of devising Plots himself, that the Common-wealth might be thought in danger, to the end he might have excuse to continue so vast Forces still in pay. Whereas it now appeared how Active, and confident the King's Party still was, and that they would not have had the presumption to make so bold an Attempt in the middle of the Kingdom, if they had not had good Assurance of being seconded; and therefore they were to look upon the Fire as only raked up, not extinguished. The Success and Triumph of a few desperate Persons at *Salisbury*, that had produced such a Consternation throughout the Kingdom, and would have endangered the security of the whole West, if there had not happened some Accidental confusion amongst the Undertakers, was evidence enough that there was not yet Force sufficient to provide for the Safety of the Kingdom; and therefore that it was necessary to make better provision for the quiet of every County, that it might not be endangered by every bold Attempt: and the Charge that this necessary Defence would cause, should in Justice be borne by those who were the Occasion of the Expence.

Thereupon he made by his own Authority, and that of his Council, an Order, "that all those who



" had ever borne Arms for the King, or had declared  
 " themselves to be of the Royal Party should be  
 " decimated. that is, pay a tenth part of all that  
 " Estate which they had left, to support the Charge  
 " which the Common-wealth was put to, by the  
 " unquietness of their Temper, and the just Cause of  
 " Jealousy which they had administered." And that  
 the Public might lose nothing of what he had so  
 frackly given to it, Commissioners were appointed in  
 every County, to value what that tenth part of every  
 such Estate did amount to; and that no Man might  
 have too good a bargain of his own, every Man  
 was obliged to pay as much as those Commissioners  
 judged fit; and till he paid it, besides Imprisonment,  
 which was a judgment apart, and inflicted once or  
 twice a year, as the jealousies wrought, his whole  
 Estate was sequestered. And in this decimation there  
 was no consideration taken of former Compositions,  
 of any Articles of War, or of any Acts of pardon and  
 indemnity, which had been granted under their great  
 Seal, without inquiry into their Actions, or so much  
 as accusing any of them of any crime or guilt, or of  
 having any Correspondence with the King or any  
 body trusted by him; or that they were in any degree  
 privy to the late designs or insurrection.

That this Order might be submitted to, and exe-  
 cuted, He published a Declaration to make the Jus-  
 tice, as well as the Necessity of that proceeding ap-  
 pear; in which he did not only set down the grounds  
 of his present proceeding against the Royal Party,  
 but the Rules by which he meant to proceed against

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His Order  
 for Decimat-  
 ing the  
 King's Party:

His Decla-  
 ration to jus-  
 tify it.

**E O O K** any other Party that should provoke, or give him  
**XIV.** trouble. It was a Declaration worded and digested  
 with much more asperity against all who had served  
 the King, than had ever been before published. Great  
 Caution had been hitherto used, as if nothing more  
 had been designed than to unite the whole Nation in  
 the joint defence of the Common Interest, and as if a  
 resolution had been taken to have abolished all Marks  
 of disunion and distinction of Parties, and that all  
 Men, of what Condition soever (except those who had  
 been always excepted by Name) who would submit to  
 the Government, should be admitted to have shares, and  
 to Act parts in the Administration and Defence of it.  
 But now notice was taken of "such an inherent  
 Malignity, and irreconcilableness in all those who  
 from the beginning had adhered to the King, and  
 opposed the proceedings of the Parliament, towards  
 all those who had served their Country, and vindicated  
 the Interest of the People and Nation, that they  
 declined the common Rules of Civility, and would  
 have no Conversation with them; and, that the same  
 Malice and Animosity might descend to their  
 Posterity, they would not make Marriages, or any  
 Friendship or Alliance with those who had been  
 separated, or divided from them in those Public  
 differences; and therefore they were not hereafter  
 to wonder, or complain, if they were looked upon  
 as a Common Enemy, which must be kept from  
 being able to do Mischief; since they would always  
 be willing to do all they could; and that they were  
 not to expect to be prosecuted, like other Men,

“ by the ordinary forms of Justice, and to have their  
 “ Crimes to be proved by Witnesſes, before they  
 “ ſhould be concluded to be Guilty. If any deſperate  
 “ Attempts were undertaken by any of that Party  
 “ to diſturb the Public Peace; that it would be rea-  
 “ ſonable to conclude that they all wiſhed well to it,  
 “ though they appeared not to own it: that all Con-  
 “ ſpiracies of that nature were acted in ſecret, and  
 “ were deeds of darkneſs, and Men might juſtly be  
 “ ſuſpected and proceeded againſt as privy to them,  
 “ by their common diſcourſes, by the Company they  
 “ uſually kept, and by their very looks ;” with many  
 other expreſſions, of ſuch an unuſual nature in the  
 diſquiſition of Juſtice, and legal proceedings, that  
 the King’s Party might reaſonably conclude, they  
 had nothing left that they could call their own, but  
 muſt expect a total Extirpation, either by Maſſacre,  
 or Tranſplantation.

But then the Declaration took notice likewiſe of  
 “ the factions in the Army; that would not acquieſce  
 “ in the Government eſtabliſhed; but would have  
 “ another found out, and formed according to their  
 “ Levelling humors; all which diſtractions, to what  
 “ other ends ſoever directed, muſt ſo weaken the  
 “ Common-wealth, if not wiſely prevented, as it  
 “ muſt in the end be expoſed as a Prey to their in-  
 “ veterate Enemies; and therefore, that the ſame  
 “ remedies muſt be applied to Them, as to the  
 “ others;” with intimation clear enough, “ that the  
 “ connivance they had formerly received, and even  
 “ the Pardons that had been granted for their former

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"Mutinies and Transgressions, were of no more validity than the Articles, Promises, and Acts of Indemnity, which had been granted to the Royal Party: all which were declared to be void and null upon any succeeding Delinquency." So that all discontented People who liked not the present Government, what part soever they had acted in the pulling down the old, whether Presbyterian, Independent, or Leveller, were left to consider of the consequence of those Maxims there laid down; and might naturally conclude, that they were in no better condition of security for what they enjoyed, and had purchased dearly, than those who by their help were brought to the lowest misery; though, for the present, none but the King's Party underwent that insupportable burden of Decimation, which brought a vast incredible Sum of Money into Cromwell's Coffers, the greater part whereof was raised (which was a kind of pleasure, though not ease, to the rest) upon those who never did, nor ever would have given the King the least assistance, and were only reputed to be of his Party because they had not assisted the Rebels with a visible cheerfulness, or in any considerable proportion; and had proposed to themselves to sit still as Neuters, and not to be at any charge with reference to either Party; or such who had sheltered themselves in some of the King's Garrisons for their own conveniency.

The King  
caused an  
Answer to be  
made to it.

This Declaration was sent to *Cologne*; where the King caused an Answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it were made by one who had been always of the Parliament-



fide, and who was well pleased to see the Cavaliers reduced to that extremity ; but with such reflections upon the Tyranny that was exercised over the Kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of Trust the Protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the Nation to look upon him as a detestable Enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself ; many of which arguments were made use of against him in the next Parliament that he called ; which was not long after.

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THE  
History of the Rebellion, etc.  
B O O K XV.

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Ezra iii. 26.

*And I will make thy Tongue cleave to the roof of thy Mouth; that thou shalt be dumb, and shalt not be to them a Reprover; for they are a Rebellious House.*

Hos. x. 3.

*For now they shall say, We have no King, because We feared not the Lord; what then shall a King do to Us?*

Hab. 1. 10.

*And they shall scoff at the Kings, and the Princes shall be a scorn unto them.*

B O O K

XV

The King  
stayed at  
Cologne above  
two years.

**T**HE King remained at Cologne above two years, contending with the rigor of his Fortune with great temper and magnanimity; whilst all the Princes of Europe seemed to contend amongst themselves, who should most eminently forget, and neglect him; and whilst Cromwell exercised all imaginable Tyranny over those Nations, who had not been sensible enough of the blessings they enjoyed under his Majesty's Father's peaceable, and mild Government: so that, if the King's Nature could have been delighted to behold the Oppressions his Rebellious Subjects

endured in all the three Nations, he might have had abundant comfort, and pleasure of this kind in all of them: first, in seeing *Scotland* which first threw off, wantonly, its own peace and plenty, and infected the other two Kingdoms with its Rebellion, now reduced, and governed by a rod of iron; vanquished and subdued by those whom they had taught the Science of Rebellion, and with whom they had joined, by specious pretences, and vows, and horrible perjuries, to destroy their own Natural Prince, and dissolve the Regal Government, to which they had been subject ever since they were a Nation: in seeing the pride and insolence of that People, which had used to practise such ill manners towards their King, suppressed, contemned, and exposed to slavery under the discipline, and castigation of Men who were very few of them born Gentlemen, but bred up in the Trades and Professions of Common-Men. These Men governed in their Houses, and prescribed new Laws to them to live by, which they had never been accustomed to, yet were compelled to obey, upon penalty of their Lives, and Estates; whilst their adored Idol, Presbytery, which had pulled off the Crown from the head of the King, was trod under foot, and laughed at; and their Preachers, who had threatened their Princes with their rude thunder of Excommunication, disputed with, scoffed at, and controlled by Artificers, and corrected by the strokes and blows of a Corporal; and all this Subjection supported at their own charge, the fierce Governors being paid by them out of their own Estates.

He then beheld *Ireland*, that begun its Rebellion Of Ireland.

B O O K

XV.

The Condition of Scotland under Cromwell.

BOOK with inhuman Massacres, and Butcheries of their  
XV. peaceable and innocent Neighbours, after the other of *Scotland* was suppressed or so compounded, that the blessing of Peace had again covered the three Nations, if this sottish People had not, without any provocation, but of their own folly and barbarity, with that bloody Prologue engaged again the three Kingdoms in a raging and devouring War; so that though *Scotland* blew the first Trumpet, it was *Ireland* that drew the first blood; and if they had not at that time rebelled, and in that manner, it is very probable all the miseries which afterwards befel the King, and his Dominions, had been prevented. These unhappy People, when they saw that they could not make War, but were beaten as often as encountered, would not yet make Peace; or if they did, they no sooner made it than broke it, with all the circumstances of Treachery, and Perjury, that can make any foul Action the most odious. And after they had, for their last preservation, returned to their obedience to the King, and put themselves again under his Protection, they quickly repented of their Loyalty, offered themselves to the Sovereignty of a Foreign Prince; and when they had seen their Natural King Murdered by his other Rebels, for want of that Assistance which they might have given him, chose rather to depend on the clemency of the Usurper, driving from them the Governor, and Government of the King: I say, his Majesty saw now this miserable People groveling at the feet of their proud Conquerors, reduced to the lowest desolation, and even to the point of Extirpation; the blood they had



wantonly, and savagely spilt in the beginning of the Rebellion, now plentifully revenged in the streams of their own blood, from one end of the Kingdom to the other; whilst those Persons who first contrived the Rebellion, and could never be reached by the King, and they who caused every Peace to be broken which had been made with his Majesty, with all the possible affronts to his Royal dignity and authority, after they had endeavoured, by all the treacherous Offices against the Royal Power, to reconcile themselves to their new Masters, were every day taken, and infamously put to death by Their authority who usurped the Government; who sold, as hath been said before, so many thousands of them to the services of Foreign Princes, under whom they perished for want of Bread, and without regard: so that there is not an account in History of any Nation, the Jews only excepted, that was ever reduced to a more complete misery than the *Irish* were at this time. And all this was the more extraordinary, in that it was without the pity of any, all the world looking upon them as deserving the fate they underwent.

Lastly *England* that seemed to glory in the Conquest of *England*. of these two Kingdoms, and to Reign peaceably over them, yielded a prospect too, full of variety. Though the King's heart was even broken with the daily informations he received of the ruin and destruction his faithful and Loyal Party underwent; and the butchery acted upon them, and the extreme Tyranny the Usurper exercised over the whole Nation, was grievous to him. yet he could not be equally afflicted to see those who had been the first Authors of the

B O O K  
XV. public Calamity, now so much sharers in it that they were no more Masters of their Estates, than They were whom they had first spoiled; and that themselves were brought and exposed upon those Scaffolds, which they had caused to be erected for others; that little or no part of the new Government was in their hands which had pulled down the old; and that, after Monarchy had been made so odious to the People, the whole Wealth of the Nation was become at the disposal of a single Person; and that those Lords, without whose monstrous assistance the Sceptre could never have been wrested out of the hands of the King, were now numbered and marshalled with the dregs of the People: in a word, that *Cromwell* was not so jealous of any, as of those who had raised him; and contrived, and proposed nothing more to himself, than to suppress those, or to drive them out of the Kingdom, who had been the principal means to suppress the Royal Authority, and to drive the Royal Family, and all that adhered to it, into banishment.

This prospect the King had of the three Kingdoms during his residence at *Cologne*; but with those manifestations of God's Vengeance upon those ungrateful Nations, of which he had a most tender and compassionate feeling, he was not without some glimmering light to discern an approach of that recompence, which the divine justice usually assigns to those who patiently attend his vindication.

*Cromwell*, whose great heart was solicitous to extend the terror of his Name into Foreign Countries, by which method he thought to render the rough and stubborn humors of the People at home more obse-

quious to him, had in the beginning of the year 1655, after his dissolution of his refractory Parliament, sent two very great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, consisting of about thirty Ships of War, with which there was likewise Embarked a Land-Army, consisting of four or five thousand Foot, and two Troops of Horse, under the Command of General *Venables*, a Gentleman of a good Family in *Cheshire*; who had served long in the Army in the condition of a Colonel, and was then called out of *Ireland* to command in this Expedition.

**B O O K**  
**XV**  
 Cromwell in the beginning of 1655 sent two great Fleets to Sea; the one under *Pen*, with a Land-Army under *Venables*:

Both these Superior Officers were well affected to the King's Service, and were not fond of the Enterprise they were to Conduct, the nature of which they yet knew nothing of. They did, by several ways, without any communication with each other (which they had not confidence to engage in) send to the King, that if he were ready with any Force from abroad, or secure of possessing any Port within, they would, that is either of them would, engage, with the power that was under their Charge, to declare for his Majesty. If this had been upon a joint, and mutual confidence in each other, and that both Fleet, and Land Forces, though the Body of Horse was small, would at the same time have set up the King's Standard, it might have been the foundation of some hopeful expectation. But neither of them daring to trust the other, the King could not presume upon any Port; without which neither had promised to engage; nor could he make out of the distinct Overtures (however he might hope to unite them) such a probable Attempt, after the miscarriage of so many,

**B O O K** as to Embark his Friends in. So he wished them to  
**xv.** reserve their Affections for his Majesty, till a more proper season to discover them; and to prosecute the Voyage to which they were designed; from which he was not without hope of some benefit to himself; for it was evident *Cromwell* meant to make some Enemy, which probably might give his Majesty some Friend.

The other  
 Fleet under  
 Blake.

The other Fleet was not inferior in Naval strength, and power, but was without a Land Army; and that was committed to the Command of *Blake*; in whom *Cromwell* had all confidence. Neither Fleet knew what the other, or what itself was to do, till each of them came to such a Point; where they were to open their Commissions; and *Cromwell* had communicated his purpose for either to so very few, that, for many Months after they were both at Sea, no Body knew to what they were designed. Though the intercourse between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal was maintained with many Civilities, and some confidence, yet there was nothing of a Treaty signed; he resolving, as he professed, “to give his Friendship to that Crown “that should best deserve it:” and, without doubt, both Crowns were amused with his preparations, and solicitous to know where the storm would fall.

*Spain*, that had hitherto kept *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* in *England*, after he had so many years resided there as Ambassador to the late King, believing they were less faulty in that than if they should send another originally to *Cromwell*, now thought it necessary to omit no occasion to endear themselves to him: and therefore they sent the Marquis of *Leyda* with a splendid

The Marquis



Train, as extraordinary Ambassador, to congratulate all his Successes, and to offer him the entire Friendship of the Catholic King. The Marquis, who was a wise and a jealous Man, found by his reception, and *Cromwell's* reservation in all his Audiences, and the approaches he could make, that there was no room left for his Master; and so after a Month spent there, he returned to look to his Government in *Flanders*, with an expectation that as soon as any News came of the Fleets, they should hear of some Acts of Hostility upon the Subjects of *Spain*; and did all he could to awaken all the Ministers of that King to the same apprehension, and expectation.

The two Fleets set out from the Coast of *England*; that under *Blake*, some Months before the other; and made it's course directly to the *Mediterranean*; being bound in the first place to suppress the Insolence of those of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, who had infested the *English* Merchants, and were grown powerful in those Seas. When he should have performed that Service, he was to open another Commission, which would inform him what course he was to steer: the other Fleet under *Pen* was bound directly to the *Barbadoes*; where they were to open their Commissions, and to deliver Letters to that Governor. There they found, that they were to take in new Men for the Land-Army, and then to prosecute their course directly to the Island of *Hispaniola*. The Governor had Orders to supply new Men for the Expedition; and there were Ships ready for their Transportation. there being a marvellous alacrity in the Planters of those *Leeward* Islands, which were overstocked

B O O K

XV.

of Leyda sent  
Ambassador by  
Spain to  
Cromwell,  
who after a  
Month returns  
to Flanders.

The Fleet  
under Blake  
goes into the  
Mediterranean.

That under  
Pen to the  
Barbadoes.

**B O O K** with Inhabitants, to seek their Fortune farther from  
**xv.** home. So that, after a shorter stay at the *Barbadoes* than they had reason to expect, having now found there two Frigates (which *Cromwell* had sent before to prepare all things ready, and to put several Shallops together, which were brought ready in quarters) and making prize of about forty *Dutch* Ships, belonging to their new Allies of *Holland*, for Trading thither (contrary to the Act of Navigation) about the end of *March* they set sail, with an addition of four or five thousand Foot for the Land-Army, towards *St. Christophers*; where, after a short stay, they received about fifteen hundred Men more: so that *Venables* had now under his Command a Body of above nine thousand Men, with one Troop of Horse more, which the Planters of the *Barbadoes* joined to him; and having a prosperous Wind, they came, about the middle of *April*, within view of *Sant Domingo*; which is the chief City and Port of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

Thence to  
 Hispaniola:

**Their Orders.** Their Orders from *Cromwell* were very particular, and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them. But whether they did not clearly understand it, or thought it not so convenient, when they were near enough to make a judgment of it, they called a Council of War; and it was there resolved that General *Venables* should land in another place (which they conceived to be much nearer the Town than in truth it was) and from thence march directly to it, there being another Brigade of Foot to be landed, at a less distance from the Town, in a Bay, that should join with them; and join they did. But by the march which *Venables* had

had made, in which he spent two days and a half in the Woods and uneasy Passages, and in the terrible heat of that Country's Sun, where they found no Water to drink, they were so dispirited before they joined with their Companions, that it was an ill pre-  
 sage of the misadventure that followed. The loss of that time in their Advance had another very ill effect. For the Inhabitants of the Town, that, at the first appearance of such a Fleet, the like whereof in any degree they had never seen before, had been seized upon by such a Consternation, that they despaired of making any resistance, when they saw their Enemies proceed so slowly, and engaged in such a March as must tire and infinitely annoy them, they recovered their Spirits, and prepared for their Defence. So that when *Venables*, upon the conjunction with his other Forces, and after having found some fresh Water to refresh his Men, advanced towards the Town, his Forlorne hope found themselves charged by a Party of Horse armed with long Lances, and other Arms, which they had not been accustomed to; so, tired and dismayed with their march and heat, they bore the Charge very ill, and were easily Routed, and Routed those which were behind them; and were, in that disorder, pursued till they came to their main Body; upon sight whereof the *Spaniard* retired without any loss, having left the Captain of the Forlorne hope, and above fifty of his Company, dead upon the place. The *English* retired back in great discomfort to the Bay, and the fresh Water River they had found there; where they stayed so long, that the General thought his Men not only enough refreshed, but enough con-

B O O K  
 XV.

*Venables*  
 beaten by a  
 few *Spaniards*

**B O O K** XV. firmed in their resolutions to redeem the shame of their last disorder, having got Guides, who undertook to conduct them a nearer way to the City, and that they should not go near a Fort, which the *Spaniards* had in a Wood, from whence they had been infested. The Common opinion that the *Negroes*, Natives of those parts, are such Enemies to the *Spaniards*, that they are willing to betray them, and do any mischief to them, might possibly incline the *English* to give credit to those Guides. But they did conduct them directly to the Fort; near which an Ambuscade in the Woods discharged a Volly again upon the Forlorne hope, and fell then in upon them with such fury, that disordered the whole Army; which, though it recovered the Courage once more to make an Attempt upon that Fort, was again seized upon by a panic fear, which made them directly fly back to the Bay with the loss of above six hundred Men, whereof their Major-General was one.

He reembarks,  
and makes a  
descent upon  
Jamaica;  
where he  
succeeds,

This Fright they never recovered; but, within few days after, having undergone many distresses by the intolerable heat of the Climate, and the *Negroes* killing their Men every day, as they went into the Woods to find meat, they were, within five or six days after the beginning of *May*, compelled to reembark themselves on board the Fleet, with a thousand Men less than had been landed, who had by several ways lost their Lives there; for which they revenged themselves upon a Neighbour-Island, called *Jamaica*; where they made another descent, took their City, and drove all the Inhabitants into the Woods. And here they left a good Body of Foot consisting of three



or four thousand Men under the Command of a Colonel, to fortify and plant in this Island a place fruitful in itself, and abounding in many good provisions, and a perpetual sharp thorn in the sides of the *Spaniard*; who received exceeding damage from thence; they who were so easily frighted, and beaten, when they were in a great Body upon the other Island, making afterwards frequent Incurfions, with small Numbers, into it from *Jamaica*; Sacking their Towns, and returning with very rich Booty. When *Venables* had put this Island into as good order as he could, he returned with *Pen* into *England*.

B O O K  
XV.

That Fleet  
returns into  
England.

The other Fleet under the Command of *Blake* had better Success, without any misadventures. After he had reduced those of *Algiers*, where he Anchored in their very Mole, to submit to such Conditions for the time past, and the time to come, as he thought reasonable, he Sailed to *Tunis*; which he found better fortified and more resolved; for that King returned a very rude Answer, contemning his strength, and undervaluing his Menaces, and refusing to return either Ship or Prisoner that had been taken. Whereupon *Blake* put his Fleet in order, and thundered with his great Guns upon the Town; whilst he sent out several long Boats Manned with stout Mariners, who, at the same time, entered with very notable resolution into their Harbours, and set fire to all the Ships there, being nine Men of War; which were burnt to ashes; and this with the loss only of five-and-twenty of the *English*, and about eight-and-forty hurt, all the boats, with the rest of the Men, returning safe to the Ships. This was indeed an Action of the highest Conduct

The Fleet  
under Blake  
had better  
success: forces  
*Algiers* to a  
Peace; enters  
the Harbour of  
*Tunis*, and  
burns their  
Fleet.

**B O O K** and Courage, and made the name of the *English* very  
**XV.** terrible and formidable in those Seas.

Cromwell  
 commits *Pen*  
 and *Venables*  
 to the Tower.

The Success of both Fleets came to *Cromwell's* notice about the same time, but did not affect him alike. He was never so discomposed (for he had usually a great command over his Passions) as upon the miscarriage at *Hispaniolas*. And as soon as they came on shore, he committed both *Pen* and *Venables* to the Tower, and could never be persuaded to trust either of them again; and could not, in a long time, speak temperately of that Affair. However, he lost no time in cherishing his infant Plantation in *Jamaica*; which many thought to be at too great a distance, and wished the Men might be recalled; but he would not hear of it; and sent presently a good Squadron of Ships, and a Recruit of fifteen hundred Men to carry on that work; and resolved nothing more, than to make a continual War from that place upon the *Spaniard*.

Sends recruits  
 to Jamaica.

And now the rupture with *Spain* could be no longer concealed. Therefore he sent Orders to *Blake*; "that he should watch the return of the Plate-Fleet, and do what mischief he could upon the Coast of *Spain*;" and gave directions to his Ships in the *Downs* to infest those of *Flanders*, which they had not yet done: what had been hitherto treated privately between Him and the Cardinal, was now exposed to the light. He now sent *Lockhart*, his Ambassador into *France*; who was received with great solemnity, and was a Man of great address in Treaty; and had a marvellous credit and power with the Cardinal. He finished there the Alliance with *France*. *Cromwell* undertook "to send  
 " over an Army of six thousand Foot, to be com-

Lockhart sent  
 by an Ambaf.  
 fador into  
 France; who  
 finished on  
 Alliance there,  
 and before  
 the Agents  
 of France in  
 England.

“manded by their own Superior Officer, who was **B O O K**  
 “to receive Orders only from Marechal *Turenne*,” and **xv.**  
 when *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* should be taken, they  
 were to be put into *Cromwell's* hands. There were  
 other more secret Articles, which will be mentioned.

*Flanders* had notice of this their new Enemy from  
*England*, before they heard any thing from *Spain*,  
 that might better enable them to contend with him;  
 and *Don Alonxo* remained still in *London* without  
 notice of what was done, till the Affair of *Jamaica*  
 was upon the Exchange, and Fraternities entered  
 into there for the better carrying on that Plantation.  
 Nor was he willing to believe it then, till *Cromwell*  
 sent to him to leave the Kingdom; which he did very **Don Alonxo**  
 unwillingly, when there was no remedy; and was **sent to by**  
 transported into *Flanders* to increase the jealousies **Cromwell to**  
 and discontents, which were already too great and **leave England,**  
 uneasy there. The Prince of *Condé*, whose Troops,  
 and vigor, were the preservation and life of that  
 Country, was very ill satisfied with the formality  
 and flegm of the Arch-Duke, and with the unactivity  
 and wariness of the *Conde of Fuenfaldagna*; who he  
 thought omitted many Opportunities.

The Arch-Duke was weary of the Title of Go-  
 vernor of the Low Countries and General of the  
 Army, when the Power was in truth in *Fuenfaldagna*,  
 and nothing to be done without His approbation;  
 and having by frequent complaints to *Madrid*, endea-  
 voured in vain to vindicate his Authority, had im-  
 plored his dismissal, and *Fuenfaldagna* himself was  
 as ill satisfied as the other two; and knowing well  
 the defects of the Court, as well as the poverty of

**B O O K** *Madrid*, thought the defence of *Flanders* consisted  
**XV.** most in preserving the Army, by being on the defensive part; and therefore, to gratify the coldness of his own constitution, he did by no means approve the frequent Enterprises and restless Spirit of the Prince of *Condé*; which spent their Men: and he thought the great charge in supporting the state and dignity of the Arch-Duke, was not recompensed by any benefit from his Service besides the irreconcilableness with the Arch-Duke, by his having compelled him, by the Authority of the King, to dismiss the Count of *Swassenburgh*; whom he loved of all the world; so that he was likewise weary of his Post, and desired his deliverance to be sent him from *Madrid*.

Don Juan of Austria made Governor of Flanders; and Carracena appointed to command the Army under him.

The Council there thought it necessary to gratify them both, and to remove both the Arch-Duke and the *Condé*, honorably to dismiss the former to return to his own residence in *Germany*, and to bring *Don Juan of Austria*, the natural Son of the King of *Spain*, who had passed through many employments with reputation, and was at that time General in *Italy*, to undertake the Government of *Flanders*, with such restrictions as the King of *Spain* thought fit; and at the same time, that the *Conde of Fuenfaldagna* should immediately enter upon the Government of *Milan*; which had been exercised for the last six years by the Marquis of *Carracena*; who was now to govern the Army in *Flanders* under *Don Juan*; and that the Marquis, who had the most disadvantage of this promotion, might be better pleased, they gave him such an addition of Authority, as could not but breed ill



blood in *Don Juan*; as it fell out afterwards. This Counsel was taken, and to be executed in this conjuncture, when *France* and *Cromwell* were ready to enter *Flanders* with two powerful Armies, whilst it was, upon the matter, under no Command.

The King was yet at *Cologne*; and no sooner heard of the War that *Cromwell* had begun upon *Spain*, but he concluded that the *Spaniard* would not be unwilling to enter into some correspondence with him; at least, that their fears were over of offending *Cromwell*.

He therefore sent privately to the Arch-Duke, and to *Fuensaldagna*, to offer them his Conjunction. *Don Alonzo* was likewise there; and the long Experience he had in *England*, and the Quality he still held, made his judgment in those Affairs most esteemed by them. He, whether upon the Conscience of his former behaviour, by which he had disobliged both the late and the present King, or whether, by having lived long in a place where the King's interest was contemned, he did in truth believe that his Majesty could bring little advantage to them, had no mind to make a conjunction with him: yet they saw one benefit which they might receive, if his Majesty would draw off the *Irish* from the Service of *France*; which they had reason to believe would be in his power, because he had formerly drawn off some Regiments from *Spain*, whilst he remained in *France*. So that they were all of opinion, that they would confer with any body the King should Authorize to Treat with them; which when the King knew, he resolved to go to them Himself; and left *Cologne*, attended only by two or three Servants; and when

The King had sent to the Arch. Duke to offer his conjunction before the Arch. Duke left Flanders.

The King comes into Flanders and treats with the

BOOK XV. he came near *Brussels*, sent to advertise the Arch-Duke at what distance he was; and “that he would  
 Arch Duke “see him *incognito* in what place, or manner, he  
 near Brussels. “should think fit.”

They either were, or seemed to be much troubled that the King was come in Person; and desired, that he would by no means come to *Brussels*; but that he would remain in a little vile Dorp about a league from *Brussels*; where he was very meanly accommodated. Thither the *Comde* of *Fuenfeldagna* and *Don Alonzo* came to his Majesty; and the Arch-Duke met him privately at another place. The King quickly discovered that *Don Alonzo* had a private Intrigue with some Officers of the *English* Army, who were Enemies to *Cromwell* upon whose Interest he more depended than the King's, and offered it as great merit to his Majesty, if he could be able to persuade them to make up a conjunction with the King. This correspondence between *Don Alonzo* and those Levelers, was managed by an *Irish* Jesuit, who, by speaking *Spanish*, had got himself to be mutually trusted by them. The King pressed them “that he might  
 “remove his Family to *Brussels*, or to some place in  
 “*Flanders*, that it might be notorious that he was in  
 “Alliance with his Catholic Majesty; and then they  
 “should quickly see he had another kind of Interest  
 “in *England*, than what those Men pretended to,  
 “upon whom they ought not to depend; and they  
 “would quickly find, if his Majesty resided in that  
 “Country, his influence upon the *Irish* who were  
 “in *France*.”

They would by no means consent that his Majesty

should remain in *Brussels*, as little at *Antwerp*, or indeed in any place, as taken notice of by the State to be there; "which," they said, "the King of *Spain's* honor would not permit, without showing those respects to him that he might live in that Grandeur as became a Great King; which the present state of their affairs would not permit them to defray the charge of." But they intimated, "that if his Majesty would chuse to remove his Family to *Bruges*, and remain there with them, so far *incognito* as not to expect any public expensive Reception, they were sure he would find all respect from the Inhabitants of that City." The King desired that some Treaty might be signed between them; which was committed to the wisdom of *Don Alonzo*; who prepared it in as perfunctory a manner as was possible; by which the King was permitted to reside in *Bruges*, and nothing on the King of *Spain's* part undertaken but "that whenever the King could cause a good Port-Town in *England* to declare for him, his Catholic Majesty would assist him with a Body of six thousand Foot, and with such a proportion of Ammunition, and so many Ships to transport that Body thither;" which was the Proposition the Levellers had made; and *Don Alonzo*, by making it the contract with the King, thought this way to beget an Intelligence between them and the Royal Party; of the power of which he had no esteem.

The King discerned that what they offered would be of no moment, nor could he make such confident Propositions of advantage to *Spain*, as might warrant him to insist upon large concessions. Besides, it

**B O O K** was evident to him, that the affairs in those Pro-  
**XV.** vinces, which remained under *Spain*, were in so evil  
 a posture, that, if they should promise any great mat-  
 ters, they would not be able to perform them. How-  
 ever, all that he desired, was to have the reputation  
 of a Treaty between Him and the King of *Spain*;  
 under which he might draw his Family from *Cologne*,  
 and remain in *Flanders*, which was at a just distance  
 from *England*, to expect other Alterations. So his  
 Majesty readily accepted the Treaty as it was drawn  
 by *Don Alonzo*; and signed it; and declared that he  
 would reside in the manner they proposed at *Bruges*.  
 Whereupon, after seven or eight days stay in that  
 inconvenient manner, the Treaty was engrossed and  
 signed by the King, the Arch-Duke, and *Don Alonzo*,  
 in *April*, or the end of *March* 1657; the despatch of  
 the Treaty being hastened by the necessity of the  
 departure of the Arch-Duke, and the *Conde of Fuen-*  
*saldagna*; who begun their Journey within two or  
 three days after the signing of it; *Don Juan*, and the  
 Marquis of *Carracena* being known to be on their  
 way; and both, though not together, within few  
 days Journey of *Flanders*.

The Treaty  
 signed April  
 1657: between  
 Spain and the  
 King.

The King re-  
 moves his  
 Family from  
 Cologne, and  
 comes to reside  
 at Bruges.

The Treaty, as it was signed, was sent by an Ex-  
 press into *Spain*, for the approbation and signature of  
 his Catholic Majesty. The King with his small Train  
 went to *Bruges*, and Lodged in the House of a Sub-  
 ject of his own, the Lord *Tarah*, an *Irish*-man; who  
 had been born in that Country, and inherited an  
 Estate by his Mother. There the King stayed, till a  
 handsome Accommodation was provided for him in  
 that City, having sent to his Brother the Duke of



*Glocester*, who remained yet at *Cologne*, to come to him, and that his Family should all come from thence. So that by the time his Majesty had returned again to *Brussels*, to congratulate *Don Juan's* arrival, and spent three or four days there, he found himself as well settled at *Bruges* as he had been at *Cologne*; where when his Family left it, there was not the least debt remained unsatisfied; which, in the low condition his Majesty had been in, and still was, gave reputation to his Oeconomy.

As upon the dissolution of the unruly Parliament, *Cromwell* had sent out his two great Fleets, to propagate his fame abroad, presuming that by the Conquest which the one would make in the *West-Indies*, he should have Money enough to keep his Army in obedience to him, and by the other's destroying or suppressing the Turks of *Algiers*, and *Tunis*, which were indeed grown formidable to all Merchants, he should raise his reputation in *Christendom*, and become very popular with all the Merchants of *England*; so he did not, in the mean time, neglect to take all the ways he could devise, to provide for his own security at home. Though he had brought the King's Party so low, that he had no apprehension of their power to raise an Army against him; yet he discerned, that by breaking their Fortunes and Estates, he had not at all broken their Spirits; and that by taking so many of their lives, their numbers were not much lessened; and that they would be still ready to throw themselves into any Party that should declare against him; to which, he knew, there were enough inclined.

**B O O K** But that which troubled him most, was the dif-

**XV.** temper in his Army; where he knew there were

Cromwell  
disturbed with  
the divisions  
in his own  
Army.

many Troops more at the disposal of that Party that would destroy him, than at his own. It was once in his purpose to have drawn over a Regiment of *Swiss*, upon pretence of sending them into *Ireland*, but in truth with intention to keep them as a Guard to his own Person; and to that purpose he had sent a Person to treat with Colonel *Balthazar*, a Man well known in the Protestant *Cantons*; but this came to be discovered: so he had not confidence to proceed in it. He resolved therefore upon an Expedient, which should provide for all inconveniencies, as well amongst the People, as in the Army. He constituted, out of the Persons who he thought were most devoted to himself, a Body of Major-Generals; that is, he assigned to such a single Person so many Counties, to be under his Command as their Major-General: so that all *England* was put under the absolute power of twelve Men, neither of them having any power in the Jurisdiction of another, but every Man, in those Counties which were committed to his Charge, had all that authority which was before divided among Committee-Men, Justices of Peace, and several other Officers.

Constitutes  
his Major-  
Generals.

**Their Power.** The Major-General committed to Prison what Persons he thought fit to suspect; took care to levy all Monies which were appointed by the Protector and his Council to be collected for the Public; sequestered all who did not pay their decimation, or such other payments as they were made liable to; and there was no Appeal from any of their Acts but to the Protector himself. They had likewise a Martial power,

which was to list a Body of Horse and Foot, who were to have such a Salary constantly paid, and not to be called upon to serve but upon emergent occasion, and then to attend so many days at their own Charge; and if they stayed longer, they were to be under the same pay with the Army, but independent upon the Officers thereof, and only to obey their Major-General. A Horse-man had eight pounds a year; for which he was to be ready with his Horse if he were called upon; if he were not, he might intend his own Affairs. By this means he had a second Army in view, powerful enough to control the first, if they at any time deserved to be suspected. But he discerned, by degrees, that these new Magistrates grew too much in love with their own power; and besides that they carried themselves like so many *Bassas* with their Bands of *Janizaries*, towards the People, and were extremely odious to all Parties, they did really affect such an Authority as might undermine his own greatness; yet for the present, he thought not fit to control them, and seemed less to apprehend them.

When Admiral *Blake* had subdued the *Turks* of *Tunis*, and *Algiers*, and betaken himself to the Coast of *Spain*, and by the attempt on *Hispaniola* and the Possession of *Jamaica*, the War was sufficiently declared against the Catholic King, *Mountague*, a young Gentleman of a good Family, who had been drawn into the Party of *Cromwell*, and served under him as a Colonel in his Army with much Courage, was sent with an Addition of Ships to join with *Blake*, and joined in Commission of Admiral and General with him; *Blake* having found himself much indis-

*Mountague*  
sent to join  
with *Blake*;  
and put in  
Commission  
with him.

**B O O K** posed in his health, and having desired that another  
**XV.** might be sent to assist him, and to take care of the  
 Fleet, if worse should befall him. Upon his Arrival  
 with the Fleet, they lay long before *Cadiz* in expecta-  
 tion of the *Spanish* West-India Fleet, and to keep  
 in all Ships from going out to give notice of their  
 being there. After some Months Attendance, they  
 were at last compelled to remove their Station, that  
 they might get fresh Water, and some other Provi-  
 sions which they wanted; and so drew off to a con-  
 venient Bay in *Portugal*, and left a Squadron of Ships  
 to watch the *Spanish* Fleet; which, within a very  
 short time after the remove of the *English* Fleet, came  
 upon the Coast; and before they were discovered by  
 the Commander of the Squadron, who was to the Lee-  
 ward, made their way so fast, that when he got up  
 with them (though he was inferior to them in  
 Number) they rather thought of saving their Wealth  
 by flight, than of defending themselves; and so the  
*Spanish* Admiral run on shore in the Bay; and the  
 Vice-Admiral, in which was the Vice-King of *Mexico*  
 with his Wife, and Sons, and Daughters, fired; in  
 which the poor Gentleman himself, his Wife, and  
 his eldest Daughter, perished: his other Daughters,  
 and his two Sons, and near one hundred others, were  
 saved by the *English*; who took the Rear-Admiral,  
 and another Ship, very richly laden; which, toge-  
 ther with the Prisoners, were sent into *England*, the  
 rest escaped into *Gibraltar*.

An English  
 Squadron  
 lights upon  
 the Spanish  
 west-India  
 Fleet; takes  
 the Rear-Ad-  
 miral and  
 another Ship  
 off Cadiz.

The Bullion  
 taken con-

The Ships which were sent for *England*, arrived at  
*Portsmouth*; and though they might with less charge  
 have continued their Voyage by Sea to *London*,



*Cromwell* thought it would make more noise, if all the Bullion, which was of great value, was landed at *Portsmouth*; from whence it was brought by Land in many Carts to *London*, and carried through the City to the Tower to be there Coined, as it was, within as short a time as it could be despatched; and though it was in itself very considerable, they gave out and reported it to be of much greater value than it was. But the loss to the *Spaniard* was prodigious; though most of what was in the Admiral was saved, and that only: and they saw the *English* Fleet still remaining before them, which was not like to miss the other Fleet they shortly after expected, in spite of all Advertisements which they were like to be able to send to it.

*Cromwell* now thought his reputation, both abroad and at home, so good, that he might venture again upon calling of a Parliament; and, by their countenance and concurrence, suppress, or compose those refractory Spirits, which crossed him in all places; and having first made such Sheriffs in all Counties as he thought would be like to contribute to his designs, by hindering such Men to stand against whom he had a prejudice, at least, by not returning them if they should be chosen, and by procuring such Persons to be returned as would be most agreeable to him, of which there were choice in all Counties; and having prepared all things to this purpose, as well as he could, he sent out his Writs to call a Parliament to meet at *Westminster*: upon the seventeenth of September, in the year 1656. When, upon the Returns, he found, that though in some places he had succeeded

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veyed from  
Portsmouth  
to London.Cromwell  
summons a  
Parliament  
to meet Sep.  
17. 1656.

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Imposes a  
Subscription  
upon the  
Members be-  
fore they sat.

according to his wish, it was in others quite the contrary, and that very many Members were returned, who were Men of the most notorious malignity against him, he therefore resorted to his old security, to keep all manner of Persons from entering into the House, who did not first subscribe, "that they would act nothing prejudicial to the Government as it was established under a Protector;" which being tendered, many Members utterly refused, and returned into their Countries, where they were not, for the most part, the worse welcome for insisting upon their Privileges, and Freedom of Parliament.

The Major part frankly submitted and subscribed; some of them, that they might have the better opportunity to do mischief. So a Speaker was chosen; and at first they proceeded so unanimously, that the Protector began to hope that he had gained his point.

The Proceed-  
ings of this  
Parliament.

With very little, or no contradiction, they passed an Act of Renunciation of any Title that *Charles Stuart* (for so they had long called the King) or any of that Family might pretend; and this all Men were bound to subscribe. With as little opposition, they passed another, whereby it was made High-Treason to attempt any thing against the life of the Protector. Then they passed several Acts for raising Money by way of contribution in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in a greater proportion than had ever yet been raised. They granted Tonnage and Poundage to the Protector for his life; and passed several other Acts for the raising of Monies; amongst them, one for obliging all Persons to pay a full year's Rent for all buildings which had been erected in, and about *London*, from  
before

before the beginning of the Troubles; by all which ways, vast Sums of Money were to be, and afterwards were, raised. All these Acts they presented solemnly to his Highness, to be confirmed by his Royal Authority: and He as graciously confirmed them all; and told them, "that as it had been the custom of the chief Governors to acknowledge the care and kindness of the Commons upon such Occasions, so he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge Theirs."

But after all this, he was far from being satisfied with the method of their proceeding: for there was nothing done to confirm his Personal Authority; and notwithstanding all this was done, they might, for ought appeared, remove him from being both Protector, and General. There had been for some time jealousies between Him and *Lambert*, who had been the principal adviser of the raising those Major-Generals; and being one of them himself, and having the Government of the five Northern Counties committed to him, he desired to improve their Authority, and to have it settled by Authority of Parliament. But *Cromwell*, on the other hand, was well contented that they should be looked upon as a public grievance, and so taken away, rather upon the desire of Parliament, than that it should appear to be out of his own inclination. But, hitherto, neither that design in *Lambert*, nor the other in *Cromwell*, nor any difference between them, had broken out.

*Cromwell's*  
jealousy of  
*Lambert*,

The Protector himself seemed to desire nothing more than to have the Authority they had formerly given him, at least, that he had exercised from the

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time he was Protector, confirmed and ratified by Act of Parliament. And if it had been so, it had been much greater than any King ever enjoyed. But he had used to speak much, "that it was pity the Nobility should be totally suppressed; and that the Government would be better, if it passed another consultation besides that of the House of Commons." In matter of Religion, he would often speak, "that there was much of good in the order of Bishops, if the dross were scoured off." He courted very much many of the Nobility, and used all devices to dispose them to come to him; and they who did visit him were used with extraordinary respect by him; all which, raised an opinion in many, that he did in truth himself affect to be King; which was the more confirmed when many of those who had nearest Relation to him, and were most trusted by him, as soon as the Parliament had despatched those Acts, which are mentioned before, and that complaints came from all parts against the Major Generals, inveighed sharply against the temper and composition of the Government, as if it was not capable to settle the several distractions, and satisfy the several Interests of the Nation; and by degrees proposed, in direct terms, "that they might invest *Cromwell* with the Title, Rights, and Dignity of a King; and then he would know, what he was to do towards the satisfaction of all Parties, and how to govern those who would not be satisfied."

A Proposition in the Parliament for *Cromwell* to be King.

This Proposition found a great concurrence; and very many who used not to agree in any thing else, were of one mind in This, and would presently vote



him King. And it was observed that no body was forwarder in that Acclamation, than some Men who had always had the reputation of great fidelity to the King, and to wish his Restoration: and it cannot be denied that very many of the King's Party were so deceived in their judgments, as really to believe, that the making *Cromwell* King for the present, was the best Expedient for the Restoration of his Majesty; and that the Army, and the whole Nation, would then have been united rather to restore the true, than to admit of a false Sovereign, whose Hypocrisy and Tyranny being now detected, and known, would be the more detested.

But the more sober Persons of the King's Party, who made less noise, trembled at this Overture; and believed that it was the only way, utterly to destroy the King, and to pull up all future hopes of the Royal Family by the Roots. They saw all Men even already tired in their hopes; and that which was left of Spirit in them, was from the horror they had of the confusion of the present Government; that very many, who had sustained the King's Quarrel in the beginning, were dead; that the present King, by his long absence out of the Kingdom, was known to very few; so that there was too much reason to fear, that much of that Affection that appeared under the notion of Allegiance to the King, was more directed to the Monarchy than to the Person; and that if *Cromwell* were once made King, and so the Government run again in the old Channel, though those who were in love with a Republic would possibly fall from him, he would receive abundant reparation of strength by the

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Access of those who preferred the Monarchy, and which probably would reconcile most Men of Estates to an absolute acquiescence, if not to an entire submission; that the Nobility, which being excluded to a Man, and deprived of all the Rights and Privileges due to them by their Birth-right, and so Enemies irreconcilable to the present Government, would, by this alteration, find themselves in their right places, and be glad to adhere to the Name of a King, how unlawful a one soever; and there was an Act of Parliament still in force, that was made in the eleventh year of King *Harry* the seventh, which seemed to provide absolute Indemnity to such submission. And there was, without doubt, at that time, too much propension in too many of the Nobility, to ransom themselves at the charge of their Lawful Sovereign. And therefore they who made these prudent recollection, did all the ways they could to prevent this design, and to divert any such Vote in the House.

Lambert and  
his Party  
opposed this  
Overture:

On the other side, *Lambert*, who was the second Man of power in the Army, and many other Officers of account and interest, besides the Country-Members, opposed this Overture with great bitterness, and indignation: some of them said directly, “that if, “contrary to their Oaths and Engagements and contrary to the end, for obtaining whereof they had “spent so much blood and treasure, they must at last “return and submit to the old Government, and live “again under a King. they would chuse much rather “to obey the true and lawful Heir to the Crown, “who was descended from a long succession of Kings “who had managed the Sceptre over the Nation,

“ than to submit to a Person who at best was but their  
 “ equal, and raised by themselves from the same  
 “ degree of which they all were, and by the trust they  
 “ had reposed in him, had raised himself above them.”

That which put an end to the present Debate was (and which was as wonderful as any thing) that some of his own Family, who had grown up under him, and had their whole dependance upon him, as *Desborough*, *Fleetwood*, *Whaley*, and others, as passionately contradicted the motion, as any of the other Officers; and confidently undertook to know, “ that himself  
 “ would never consent to it; and therefore that it  
 “ was very strange that any Men should importune  
 “ the putting such a Question, before they knew that  
 “ he would accept it, unless they took this way to  
 “ destroy him.” Upon this (for which the Undertakers received no thanks) the first Debate was put off, till farther consideration.

And some of  
 Cromwell's  
 own Relations.

The Debate was resumed again the next day, with the same warmth, the same Persons still of the same opinion they had been before; most of the Officers of the Army, as well as they who were the great Dependents upon, and Creatures of *Cromwell*, as passionately opposed the making him King, as *Lambert* and the rest did, who looked to be successive Protectors after his decease; only it was observed, that they who the day before had undertaken, that he himself would never endure it (which had especially made the pause at that time) urged that Argument no more; but inveighed still against it as a Monstrous thing, and that which would infallibly ruin him. But most of those of his Privy-Council, and others nearest his trust,

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A Committee  
appointed to  
confer with  
Cromwell  
about it.

were as violent and as positive for the declaring him King, and much the Major part of the House concurred in the same opinion; and notwithstanding all was said to the contrary, they appointed a Committee of several of the most eminent Members of the House to wait upon him and to inform him of "the very earnest desire of the House, that he would take upon him the Title of King; and if they should find any aversion in him, that they should then enlarge in giving him those reasons, which had been offered in the House, and which had swayed the House to that resolution, which they hoped would have the same Influence upon his Highness."

He gives them  
Audience, and  
they offer him  
their reasons

He gave them Audience in the Painted Chamber, when they made the bare Overture to him, as the desire of his Parliament; at which he seemed surprised; and told them, "he wondered how any such thing came into their minds; that it was neither fit for Them to offer, nor Him to receive; that he was sure they could discover no such Ambition in him, and that his Conscience would not give him leave ever to consent to own that Title." They, who were well prepared to expect such an Answer, told him, "that they hoped, he would not so suddenly give a positive denial to what the Parliament had desired upon so long, and mature deliberation; that They, who knew his modesty well, and that he more affected to deserve the highest Titles than to wear them, were appointed to offer many reasons, which had induced the House to make this request to him; which when he had vouchsafed to hear, they hoped the same impression would be made upon Him, that had been made



“ upon Them in the House.” He was too desirous to give the Parliament all the Satisfaction he could with a good Conscience, to refuse to hear whatever they thought fit to say to him; and so appointed them another day to attend him in the same place, which they accordingly did.

When they came to him again, they all successively entertained him with long Harangues setting out “ the nature of the *English* People, and the nature of “ the Government to which they had been accustomed, and under which they had flourished from “ the time they had been a People: that though the “ extreme sufferings they had undergone by corrupt “ Ministers, under negligent, and tyrannical Kings “ had transported them to throw off the Government itself, as well as to inflict Justice upon the Persons of the Offenders; yet they found by experience, “ that no other Government would so well fit the “ Nation, as that to which it had been accustomed: “ that, notwithstanding the infinite pains his Highness “ had taken, and which had been crowned, even with “ miraculous success, by the immediate blessing of “ Divine Providence upon all his Actions and all his “ Counsels, there remained still a restless and unquiet “ Spirit in Men, that threatened the public Peace; “ and that it was most apparent, by the daily Combinations and Conspiracies against the present Government, how just and gentle and mild soever, “ that the heart of the Nation was devoted to the old “ form, with which it was acquainted; and that it “ was the love of that, not the Affection to the young “ Man who pretended a title to it, and was known to

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“ no body, which disposed so many to wish for the  
“ return of it: that the Name and Title of a Protector  
“ was never known to this Kingdom, but in the  
“ hands of a Subject. during the Reign of an infant  
“ Sovereign; and therefore, that the Laws gave little  
“ respect to him, but were always executed in the  
“ Name of the King, how young soever, and how  
“ unfit soever to govern: that whatsoever concerned  
“ the Rights of any Family, or any personal pretence,  
“ was well and safely over; the Nation was united,  
“ and of one mind in the rejection of the old Line;  
“ there was no danger of it; but nobody could say,  
“ that they were of one mind in the rejection of the  
“ old form of Government; to which they were still  
“ most addicted; therefore, they besought him,  
“ out of his love and tenderness to the Common-  
“ wealth, and for the preservation of the Nation,  
“ which had got so much renown and glory under his  
“ Conduct, that he would take that Name and Title  
“ which had ever presided over it, and by which as he  
“ could establish a firm Peace at home, so he would  
“ find his fame and honor more improved abroad;  
“ and that those very Princes and Kings, who, out of  
“ admiration of his Virtue and noble Actions, had con-  
“ tracted a reverence for his Person, and an impatient  
“ desire of his friendship, would look upon him with  
“ much more veneration, when they saw him clothed  
“ with the same Majesty, and as much their equal in  
“ Title as in merit; and would with much more ala-  
“ crity renew the old Alliances with *England*, when  
“ they were renewed in the old form, and under the  
“ old title, which would make them durable; since no

“ Foreign Prince could presume to take upon him  
 “ to judge of right of Succession ; which had been  
 “ frequently changed in all Kingdoms, not only upon  
 “ the expiration of a Line, but upon deprivation  
 “ and deposition; in such manner as was most for  
 “ the good and benefit of the People ; of which there  
 “ was a fresh Instance in their own Eyes, in the  
 “ Kingdom of *Portugal*; where the Duke of *Braganza*,  
 “ by the Election of the People, assumed the Crown,  
 “ and Title of King, from the King of *Spain*; who  
 “ enjoyed it quietly, and without Interruption,  
 “ during three Descents; and he was acknowledged  
 “ as Sovereign of that Kingdom by the late King;  
 “ who received his Ambassadors accordingly.”

*Cromwell* heard these and the like Arguments with  
 great attention (and wanted not inclination to have  
 concurred with them; he thanked them “for the  
 “ pains they had taken) to which he would not take  
 “ upon him to give a present Answer; that he would  
 “ consider of all they had said to him, and resort to  
 “ God for Counsel; and then he would send for them,  
 “ acquaint them with his Resolution;” and so they  
 parted, all Men standing at gaze, and in terrible  
 suspense, according to their several hopes and fears,  
 till they knew what he would determine. All the  
 dispute was now within his own Chamber. There is  
 no question the Man was in great agony, and in his  
 own mind did heartily desire to be King, and thought  
 it the only way to be safe. And it is confidently be-  
 lieved, that upon some Addresses he had formerly  
 made to some principal Noble Men of the Kingdom,  
 and some Friendly Expostulations he had by himself,

BOOK XV. or some Friend, with them, why they reserved them selves, and would have no Communication or acquaintance with him, the Answer from them all severally (for such discourses could be held but with one at a time) was "that if he would make himself king, they  
 " should easily know what they had to do, but they  
 " knew nothing of the submission and obedience  
 " which they were to pay to a Protector;" and that these returns first disposed him to that Ambition.

He was not terrified with the opposition that *Lambert* gave him; whom he now looked upon as a declared and mortal Enemy, and one whom he must destroy, that he might not be destroyed by him: nor did he much consider those other Officers of the Army, who in the House concurred with *Lambert*, whose Interest he did not believe to be great; and if it were, he thought he should quickly reduce them, as soon as *Lambert* should be disgraced, and his power taken from him. But he trembled at the obstinacy of those who, he knew, loved him; his Brother *Desborough*, and the rest, who depended wholly upon him, and his Greatness, and who did not wish his Power and Authority less absolute than it was. And that these Men should, with that virulence, withstand this promotion, grieved him to the heart. He conferred with them severally, and endeavoured, by all the ways he could, to convert them. But they were all inexorable; and told him resolutely, "that  
 " they could do him no good, if they should adhere  
 " to him; and therefore, they were resolved for their  
 " own Interest to leave him, and do the utmost  
 " they could against him, from the time he assumed  
 " that Title."



It was reported that an Officer of Name, in the Eclaircissement upon the Subject, told him resolutely and vehemently, "that if ever he took the Title of King upon him, he would kill him." Certain it is that *Cromwell* was informed, and gave credit to it, "that there were a number of Men, who bound themselves by Oath to kill him, within so many hours after he should accept that Title. They who were very near him, said, that in this perplexity he revolved his former Dream, or Apparition, that had first informed, and promised him the high Fortune to which he was already arrived, and which was generally spoken of even from the beginning of the Troubles, and when he was not in a posture that promised such exaltation; and that he then observed, it had only declared, "that he should be the greatest Man in *England*, and should be near to be King;" which seemed to imply that he should be only near, and never actually attain the Crown. Upon the whole matter, after a great distraction of mind, which was manifest in his Countenance to all who then saw him, notwithstanding his Science in dissimulation, his courage failed him; and after he had spent some days very uneasily, he sent for the Committee of Parliament to attend him; and, as his looks were extremely discomposed, and discovered a mind full of trouble, and irresolution, so his words were broken and disjointed, without method, and full of pauses; with frequent mention of God and his gracious dispensation, he concluded, "that he could not, with a good Conscience, accept the Government under the Title of a King.

The refuses  
the Title of  
King.

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Many were then of opinion, that his Genius at that time forsook him, and yielded to the King's spirit, and that his Reign was near its expiration; and that if his own Courage had not failed, he would easily have mastered all opposition; that there were many Officers of the Army, who would not have left him, who were for Kingly Government in their own affections; and that the greatest Factions in Religion rather promised themselves Protection from a single Person, than from a Parliament, or a new numerous Council: that the first Motion for the making him King, was made by one of the most wealthy Aldermen of the City of *London*, and who served then for the City in Parliament; which was an Argument that that potent Body stood well affected to that Government, and would have joined with him in the defence of it. Others were as confident, that he did very wisely to decline it; and that, if he had accepted it, he could not have lived many days after. The truth is, the danger was only in some present Assassination, and desperate Attempt upon his Person, not from a Revolt of the Army from him; which no particular Man had Interest enough to corrupt. And he might have secured himself, probably, for some time, from such an Assault; and when such designs are deferred, they are commonly discovered; as appeared afterwards, in many Conspiracies against his Life.

His Interest and Power over the Army was so great, that he had upon the sudden removed many of those Officers who had the greatest Names in the Factions of Religion, as *Harrison*, *Rich*, and others; who, as soon as they were removed, and their

Regiments conferred on others, were found to be of no signification, or influence. And it could have been no hard matter for him, upon very few days warning, to have so Quartered, and Modelled his Troops, as to have secured him in any enterprize he would undertake. And, it may be, there were more Men scandalized at his Usurping more than the Royal Authority, than would have been at his Assumption of the Royal Title too. And therefore they who at that time exercised their thoughts with most sagacity, looked upon that refusal of his as an immediate Act of Almighty God towards the King's Restoration; and many of the soberest Men in the Nation confessed, after the King's Return, that their dejected Spirits were wonderfully raised, and their hopes revived, by that insatuation of his.

But his modesty, or his wisdom, or his fear in the refusing that supreme Title, seemed not to be attended with the least disadvantage to him. They who had most signally opposed it, were so satisfied that the danger they most apprehended was over, that they cared not to cross any thing else that was proposed towards his greatness; which might be their own another day: and they who had carried on the other design, and thereby, as they thought, obliged him, resolved now to give him all the Power which they knew he did desire, and leave it to his own time, when with less hesitation he might assume the Title too. And so they voted, that he should enjoy the Title and Authority he had already; which they enlarged in many particulars, beyond what it was by the first Instrument of Government, by another Instru-

**B O O K** ment, which they called the humble *Petition* and *Ad-*  
**XV.** *vice*; in which they granted him not only that Au-  
 thority for his life, but power by his last Will and  
 Testament, and in the presence of such a number of  
 Witnesses, to make choice of and to declare his own  
 Successor; which power should never be granted to  
 any other Protector than himself. And when they  
 had digested and agreed upon this Writing, at the  
 passing whereof *Lambert* chose rather to be absent  
 than oppose it, his Parliament sent to him for an Au-  
 dience; which he assigned them on the 25<sup>th</sup> day of  
*May* 1657. in the Banqueting-House; where their  
 Speaker *Withrington* presented, and read the *Petition*  
 and *Advice* of his Parliament, and desired his Assent  
 to it.

He is con-  
 firmed Pro-  
 tector by the  
 humble Pe-  
 tition and  
 Advice.

The Contents  
 of it.

The Contents and substance of it were, “ that his  
 “ Highness *Oliver Cromwell* should, under the Title  
 “ of Protector; be pleased to execute the Office of  
 “ Chief Magistrate over *England, Scotland, and Ire-*  
 “ *land*, and the Territories and Dominions thereunto  
 “ belonging, &c. and to govern according to all things  
 “ in that *Petition* and *Advice*: and also that he would  
 “ in his life-time appoint the Person that should suc-  
 “ ceed him in the Government: that he would call  
 “ a Parliament, consisting of two Houses, once in a  
 “ year at farthest: that those Persons who are legally  
 “ chosen by a free Election of the People to serve in  
 “ Parliament, may not be excluded from doing their  
 “ duties, but by consent of that House whereof they  
 “ are Members: that none but those under the Qua-  
 “ lifications therein mentioned, should be capable to  
 “ serve as Members in Parliament: that the power



“ of the other House be limited, as therein is pre- B O O K  
 “ scribed: that the Laws and Statutes of the Land be xv.  
 “ observed and kept; no Laws altered, suspended,  
 “ abrogated, or repealed, but by new Laws made  
 “ by Act of Parliament: that the yearly Sum of a  
 “ Million of pounds Sterling be fetled for the main-  
 “ tenance of the Navy, and Army; and three hun-  
 “ dred thousand pounds for the support of the Go-  
 “ vernment; besides other temporary Supplies, as  
 “ the Commons in Parliament shall see the necessities  
 “ of the Nation to require: that the Number of the  
 “ Protector’s Council shall not exceed one-and-  
 “ twenty; whereof seven shall be a *Quorum*: the  
 “ Chief Officers of State, as Chancellors, Keepers of  
 “ the Great Seal, &c. to be approved by Parliament:  
 “ that this Highness would encourage a Godly Ministry  
 “ in these Nations; and that such as do revile and  
 “ disturb them in the worship of God, may be pu-  
 “ nished according to Law; and where Laws are de-  
 “ fective, new ones to be made: that the Protestant  
 “ Christian Religion, as it is contained in the Old  
 “ and New Testament, be asserted, and held forth  
 “ for the public Profession of these Nations, and  
 “ no other; and that a Confession of Faith be agreed  
 “ upon, and recommended to the People of these  
 “ Nations; and none to be permitted, by words or  
 “ writing, to revile, or reproach the said Confession  
 “ of Faith.”

When this *Petition* and *Advice* was distinctly read  
 to him, after a long pause, and casting up his Eyes, His Speech  
 and other Gestures of perplexity, he signed it; upon passing  
 it.  
 told them, “ that he came not thither that day as to

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“ a day of Triumph, but with the most serious  
 “ thoughts that ever he had in all his Life, being to  
 “ undertake one of the greatest Burdens that ever  
 “ was laid upon the back of any human Creature;  
 “ so that, without the support of the Almighty, he  
 “ must necessarily sink under the weight of it, to the  
 “ damage and prejudice of the Nation committed to  
 “ his Charge: therefore he desired the help of the  
 “ Parliament, and the help of all those who feared  
 “ God, that by Their help he might receive help and  
 “ assistance from the hand of God, since nothing but  
 “ His presence could enable him to discharge so great  
 “ a Trust. He told them, that this was but an Intro-  
 “ duction to the carrying on of the Government of  
 “ the three Nations; and therefore he recommended  
 “ the supply of the rest, that was yet wanting to the  
 “ Wisdom of the Parliament;” and said, “ he could  
 “ not doubt, but the same spirit that had led the Par-  
 “ liament to This, would easily suggest the rest to  
 “ them; and that nothing should have induced him  
 “ to have undertaken this intolerable burden to  
 “ flesh and blood, but that he saw, it was the Par-  
 “ liament’s care to answer those ends for which they  
 “ were engaged;” calling God to Witness, “ that  
 “ he would not have undergone it, but that the Par-  
 “ liament had determined that it made clearly for  
 “ the liberty and interest of the Nation, and prefer-  
 “ vation of such as fear God; and if the Nation were  
 “ not thankful to them for their care; it would fall  
 “ as a sin on their heads.” He concluded with recom-  
 “ mending some things to them, “ which, he said,  
 “ would tend to Reformation, by discountenancing  
 Vice

“Vice and encouraging Virtue;” and so dismissed them to return to their House.

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XV.

But now that they had performed all he could expect from them, he resolved that he would do somewhat for himself; and that all the discourses which had passed of Kingship, should not pass away in the silence of this Address, but that this Exaltation should be attended with such a noise and solemnity, as should make it very little inferior to the other. Therefore, within few days after, he sent a Message to the Parliament, “that they would adjourn until such a time as the solemnity of his Inauguration should be performed;” for the formality whereof they had not provided, nor indeed considered it; as if enough had been done already. For this he appointed the six and-twentieth of *June*; and in the mean time assigned the care to several Persons, that all things should be made ready for the magnificence of such a Work.

On the day appointed, *Westminster-Hall* was prepared, and adorned as sumptuously as it could be for a day of Coronation. A Throne was erected with a Pavilion, and a Chair of State under it, to which *Cromwell* was conducted in an entry, and attendance of his Officers, Military and Civil, with as much State (and the Sword carried before him) as can be imagined. When he was sat in his Chair of State, and after a short Speech, which was but the Prologue of that by the Speaker of the Parliament, *Withrington*, that this promotion might not seem to be without the Nobility's having any share in it, the Speaker, with the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Whitlock*, vested him

The Solemnity of his Inauguration.

**B O O K** with a rich Purple Velvet Robe lined with Ermines ;  
**XV.** the Speaker enlarging upon the Majesty and the Integrity of that Robe. Then the Speaker presented him with a fair Bible of the largest Edition, richly Bound ; then he , in the name of all the People, girded a Sword about him ; and lastly presented him a Sceptre of Gold , which he put into his hand , and made him a large discourse of those Emblems of Government and Authority. Upon the close of which, there being little wanting to a perfect formal Coronation, but a Crown and an Arch-Bishop, he took his Oath , administered to him by the Speaker , in these words ( which amongst other things had been settled by an explanatory Petition and Advice ) “ I do, in  
 “ the Presence, and by the Name of Almighty God,  
 “ promise and swear, that, to the utmost of my  
 “ power, I will uphold, and maintain the true Re-  
 “ formed Protestant Christian Religion in the purity  
 “ thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures  
 “ of the Old and New-Testament ; and to the utmost  
 “ of my power, and understanding, encourage the  
 “ Profession and Professors of the same ; and that, to  
 “ the utmost of my power, I will endeavour, as Chief  
 “ Magistrate of these three Nations, the maintenance  
 “ and preserving of the Peace and Safety , and just  
 “ Rights and Privileges of the People thereof ; and  
 “ shall in all things , according to the best of my  
 “ knowledge and power, govern the People of these  
 “ three Nations according to Law.”

After this there remained nothing but Festivals, and Proclamations of his Power and Authority to be made in the City of *London*, and with all imaginable



haste throughout the three Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; which was done accordingly. And that he might entirely enjoy the Sovereignty they had conferred upon him, without any new blasts, and disputes, and might be vacant to the despatch of his Domestic Affairs, which he had modelled, and might have time to consider how to fill his other House with Members fit for his purpose, he adjourned his Parliament till *January* next, as having done as much as was necessary for one Session. In this vacancy, his greatness seemed to be so much established both at home and abroad, as if it could never be shaken. He caused all the Officers of his Army, and all Commanders at Sea to subscribe, and approve all that the Parliament had done, and to promise to observe and defend it.

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XV.

He adjourns  
his Parliament  
to January  
the 20. His  
Actions in  
the vacancy  
of Parliament.

He sent now for his eldest Son *Richard*; who till this time, had lived privately in the Country upon the fortune his Wife had brought him, in an ordinary Village in *Hampshire*; and brought him now to the Court, and made him a Privy-Counsellor. and caused him to be chosen Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*. Notwithstanding all which, few People then believed that he intended to name him for his Successor; he by his discourses often implying, "that he would name such a Successor, as was in all respects equal to the Office:" and so Men guessed this, or that Man, as they thought most like to be so esteemed by him. His second Son *Henry*, who had the Reputation of more Vigor, he had sent into *Ireland*, and made him his Lieutenant of that Kingdom,

## B O O K

## XV.

His Daugh-  
ters disposed  
of in Marriage.

that he might be sure to have no disturbance from thence.

He had only two Daughters unmarried: One of those he gave to the Grand-son and Heir of the Earl of *Warwick*, a Man of a great Estate, and thoroughly engaged in the Cause from the beginning; the Other was Married to the Lord Viscount *Falconbridge*, the owner likewise of a very fair Estate in *Yorkshire*, and descended of a Family eminently Loyal. There were many reasons to believe that this young Gentleman, being then of about three or four-and-twenty years of Age, of great Vigor and Ambition, had many good purposes, which he thought that Alliance might qualify and enable him to perform. These Marriages were celebrated at *White-Hall* with all imaginable Pomp and Lustre; and it was observed, that though the Marriages were performed in public View according to the Rites and Ceremonies then in use, they were presently afterwards in private Married by Ministers Ordained by Bishops, and according to the form in the Book of Common-Prayer; and this with the privity of *Cromwell*; who pretended to yield to it in compliance with the importunity, and folly of his Daughters.

The Success  
of his Arms  
abroad.

These Domestic Triumphs were confirmed, and improved by the Success of his Arms abroad. Though the *French* had no mind to apply those Forces upon *Dunkirk*, which they were obliged, when taken, to put into *Cromwell's* hands, and so march to other places, which they were to Conquer to their own use, in which the six thousand *English* under the Command of *Raynolds* attended them, and behaved themselves

eminently well, and in good discipline; yet his Ambassador *Lockhart* made such lively Instances with the Cardinal, with complaints of their breach of Faith, and some Menaces, "that his Master knew where "to find a more punctual Friend;" that as soon as they had taken *Montmedy*, and *St. Venant*, the Army marched into *Flanders*; and though the Season of the year was too far spent to engage in a Siege before *Dunkirk*, they sat down before *Mardike*; which was looked upon as the most difficult part of the Work; which being reduced, would facilitate the other very much: and that Fort they took, and delivered it into the hands of *Raynolds*, with an obligation "that they "would besiege *Dunkirk* the next year, and make it "their first Attempt."

But that which made a noise indeed, and Crowned his Successes, was the Victory his Fleet, under the Command of *Blake*, had obtained over the *Spaniard*; which, in truth, with all its Circumstances, was very wonderful, and will never be forgotten in *Spain*, and the *Canaries*. That Fleet had rode out all the Winter-Storms before *Cadiz* and the Coast of *Portugal*, after they had sent home those former Ships which they had taken of the *West-Indian* Fleet, and understood by the Prisoners, that the other Fleet from *Peru*, which is always much richer than that of *Mexico*, was undoubtedly at Sea, and would be on the Coast by the beginning of the Spring, if they received not Advertisement of the presence of the *English* Fleet; in which case they were most like to stay at the *Canaries*. The Admiral concluded, that, notwithstanding all they had done, or could do to block up *Cadiz*, one

The Victory  
of his Fleet  
over the  
*Spaniard*.

**B O O K** way or other they would not be without that Adver-  
**xv.** tisement; and therefore resolved to sail with the whole Fleet to the length of the *Canaries*, that, if it were possible, they might meet with the Galeons before they came thither; and if they should be first got in thither, they would then consider what was to be done.

With this Resolution the Fleet stood for the *Canaries*, and about the middle of *April* came thither; and found that the Galeons were got thither before them, and had placed themselves, as they thought, in safety. The smaller Ships, being ten in number, lay in a Semi-circle, moored along the Shore; and the six great Galeons (the Fleet consisting of sixteen good Ships) which could not come so near the Shore, lay with their broad-sides towards the Offing. Besides this good posture in which all the Ships lay, they were covered with a strong Castle well furnished with Guns; and there were six or seven small Ports, raised in the most advantageous places of the Bay, every one of them furnished with divers good pieces of Cannon; so that they were without the least Apprehension of their want of security, or imagination that any Men would be so desperate, as to assault them upon such apparent disadvantage.

When the *English* Fleet came to the mouth of the Bay of *Santa Cruz*, and the General saw in what posture the *Spaniard* lay, he thought it impossible to bring off any of the Galeons; however, he resolved to burn them (which was by many thought to be equally impossible) and sent Captain *Stayner* with a Squadron of the best Ships to fall upon the Galeons;



which he did very resolutely; whilst other Frigats entertained the Forts, and lesser Breast-works, with continual Broad-sides to hinder their firing. Then the General coming up with the whole Fleet, after full four hours fight, they drove the *Spaniards* from their Ships, and possessed them; yet found that their work was not done; and that it was not only impossible to carry away the Ships, which they had taken, but that the Wind that had brought them into the Bay, and enabled them to Conquer the Enemy, would not serve to carry them out again; so that they lay exposed to all the Cannon from the Shore; which thundered upon them. However, they resolved to do what was in their power; and so, discharging their broad-sides upon the Forts and Land, where they did great execution, they set fire to every Ship, Galeons, and others, and burned every one of them; which they had no sooner done, but it happened the Wind turned, and carried the whole Fleet without loss of one Ship out of the Bay, and put them safe to Sea again.

The whole Action was so miraculous, that all Men who knew the place, wondered that any sober Men, with what Courage soever endued, would ever have undertaken it; and they could hardly persuade themselves to believe what they had done; whilst the *Spaniards* comforted themselves with the belief, that they were Devils and not Men who had destroyed them in such a manner. So much a strong resolution of bold and courageous Men can bring to pass, that no resistance and advantage of ground can disappoint them. And it can hardly be imagined, how small a loss the *English* sustained in this unparalleled

**B O O K** Action; no one Ship being left behind, and the killed  
**xv.** and wounded not exceeding two hundred Men, when the Slaughter on board the *Spanish* Ships, and on the Shore, was incredible.

Blake returns  
 with the  
 Fleet; dies in  
 the way.

His Burial,  
 and Character.

The Fleet after this, having been long abroad, found it necessary to return home. And this was the last service performed by *Blake*; who Sickened in his Return, and in the very entrance of the Fleet into the Sound of *Plymouth*, expired. He wanted no Pomp of Funeral when he was dead, *Cromwell* causing him to be brought up by Land to *London* in all the State that could be; and to encourage his Officers to venture their Lives, that they might be Pompously Buried, he was, with all the Solemnity possible, and at the Charge of the Public, Interred in *Harry* the Seventh's Chapel, among the Monuments of the Kings. He was a Man of a private Extraction; yet had enough left him by his Father to give him a good Education; which his own Inclination disposed him to receive in the University of *Oxford*; where he took the degree of a Master of Arts; and was enough versed in Books for a Man who intended not to be of any Profession, having sufficient of his own to maintain him in the plenty he affected, and having then no appearance of Ambition to be a greater Man than he was. He was of a melancholic and a sullen Nature, and spent his time most with Good fellows, who liked his moroseness and a freedom he used in inveighing against the Licence of the time, and the power of the Court. They who knew him inwardly, discovered that he had an Anti-Monarchical Spirit, when few Men thought the Government in any danger.

When the Troubles begun, he quickly declared himself against the King; and having some Command in *Bristol*, when it was first taken by Prince *Rupert* and the Marquis of *Hertford*, being trusted with the Command of a little Fort upon the Line, he refused to give it up, after the Governor had signed the Articles of Surrender, and kept it some hours after the Prince was in the Town, and killed some of the Soldiers; for which the Prince resolved to hang him, if some Friends had not interposed for him, upon his want of experience in War; and prevailed with him to quit the place by very great importunity, and with much difficulty. After this, having done eminent Service to the Parliament, especially at *Taunton*, at Land, He then betook himself wholly to the Sea; and quickly made himself signal there. He was the first Man that declined the old track, and made it manifest that the Science might be attained in less time than was imagined; and despised those Rules which had been long in practice, to keep his Ship and his Men out of danger; which had been held in former times a point of great Ability and Circumspection; as if the principal Art requisite in the Captain of a Ship had been to be sure to come home safe again. He was the first Man who brought the Ships to contemn Castles on shore, which had been thought ever very formidable, and were discovered by him to make a noise only, and to fright those who could rarely be hurt by them. He was the first that infused that proportion of Courage into the Sea-men, by making them see by experience, what mighty things they could do, if they were resolved; and taught them to fight in Fire as well as upon

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Water: and though he hath been very well imitated and followed, he was the first that gave the Example of that kind of Naval Courage, and bold and resolute Achievements.

The Parlia-  
ment comes  
together  
Jan. 29.

After all this Lustre and Glory, in which the Protector seemed to flourish, the season of the year threatened some tempest and foul weather. *January* brought the Parliament again together. They did not re-assemble with the same temper, and resignation, in which they parted; and it quickly appeared how unsecure new Institutions of Government are; and when the Contrivers of them have provided, as they think, against all mischievous Contingencies, they find, that they have unwarily left a gap open to let their Destruction in upon them.

*Cromwell* thought he had sufficiently provided for his own security, and to restrain the insolence of the Commons, by having called the other House; which by the *Petition* and *Advice* was to be done; and having filled it, for the most part, with the Officers of the Army, and such others as he had good reason to be confident of. So on the twentieth of *January* the day appointed to meet (whereas, before, the Parliament used to attend him in the Painted-Chamber, when he had any thing to say to them; now) he came to the House of Lords; where his new Creations were; then he sent the Gentleman-Usher of the black Rod to call the Commons to him. And they being conducted to the Bar of that House, He being placed in his Chair under a Cloth of State, begun his Speech in the old Style, "My Lords, and You, the Knights, Citizens, " and Burgeſſes, of the House of Commons:" and

*Cromwell*  
speaks to  
them.



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then discoursed some particulars, which he recommended to them; thanked them "for their fair Correspondence the last Session; and assured them," "if they would continue to prosecute his Designs, they should be called the blessed of the Lord, and Generations to come should bless them."

But as soon as the Commons came to their House, they caused the third Article of the *Petition and Advice* to be read; by which it was provided, that no Members legally chosen should be excluded from the performance of their Duty but by consent of that House of which they were Members. Upon which, they proceeded to the calling over their House, and re-admitted presently all those who had been excluded for refusing to sign that Recognition of the Protector; and by this means, above a hundred of the most inveterate Enemies the Protector had, came and sat in the House; among whom were Sir *Henry Vane*, *Hasslerig*, and many other signal Men; who had much the more Credit and Interest in the House, for having been excluded for their fidelity to the Commonwealth; many of those who had subscribed it, valuing themselves for having thereby become Instruments to introduce them again, who could never otherwise have come to be re-admitted.

The House of Commons re-admit all their Members that had been excluded, by Virtue of a Clause in the *Petition and Advice*.

As soon as these Men came into the House, they began to question the Authority and Jurisdiction of the other House; "that it was true, the *Petition and Advice* had admitted there should be such a House; but that it should be a House of Peers, that they should be called *My Lords*, there was no provision; nor did it appear what Jurisdiction it should have:

Their transactions afterwards.

B O O K  
XV.

“ that it would be a very ridiculous thing, if they  
 “ should suffer those who were created by themselves,  
 “ and sat only by Their Vote, to be better Men  
 “ than They; and to have a Negative Voice to con-  
 “ trol their Masters. ” When they had enough  
 vilified them, they questioned the Protector’s Autho-  
 rity to send Writs to call them thither: “ Who gave  
 “ him that Authority to make Peers? that it had  
 “ been the proper business of that House to have  
 “ provided for all this; which it is probable they  
 “ would have done at this meeting, if he had not  
 “ presumptuously taken that Sovereign power upon  
 “ him. ”

Cromwell  
 Convenes both  
 Houses, and  
 speaks to  
 them.

*Cromwell* was exceedingly surpris’d, and perplex-  
 ed with this new Spirit; and found that he had been  
 short-sighted in not having provided, at the same time,  
 for the filling his House of Commons, when he erected  
 his other of Peers: for he had taken away those out  
 of that House who were the boldest Speakers, and  
 best able to oppose this torrent, to institute this other  
 House, without supplying those other places by Men  
 who could as well undergo the Work of the other.  
 However, he made one effort more; and Convened  
 both Houses before him; and very Magisterially,  
 and in a Dialect he had never used before, reprehend-  
 ed them for presuming to question his Authority.  
 “ The other House, he said, were Lords, and should  
 “ be Lords; ” and commanded Them “ to enter  
 “ upon such business, as might be for the benefit, not  
 “ the distraction of the Common-wealth; which he  
 “ would with God’s Help prevent. ” And when he  
 found this Animadversion did not reform them, but

that they continued in their presumption, and every day improved their reproaches and contempt of him, he went to his House of Lords upon the fourth of *February*; and sending for the Commons, after he had used many sharp expressions of indignation, he told them, "that it concerned his Interest, as much as the "Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation, to dissolve "that Parliament, and therefore he did put an end "to their sitting." So that Cloud was, for the present, dissipated, that threatened so great a Storm.

B O O K  
XV.

He Dissolves  
that Parlia-  
ment, Feb. 4.

The Parliament being dissolved, *Cromwell* found himself at ease to prosecute his other designs. After the taking of *Mardike*, *Raynolds*, who was Commander in chief of that Body of the *English* in the Service of *France*, endeavouring to give his Friends in *England* a visit, was, together with some other Officers who accompanied him, cast away, and drowned at Sea; upon which, before the dissolution of the Parliament, *Lockhart*; who was the Protector's Ambassador in *France*, was designed to take that Charge upon him, and all things, which were to be Transported from *England*, for the prosecution of the business in *Flanders* the next Spring, were despatched with the more care, and punctuality, that there might be no room left for the Cardinal to imagine, that the Protector was in any degree perplexed with the contradiction, and ill humor of the Parliament.

Raynolds  
cast away  
coming out of  
Flanders.

As soon as he was rid of That, he thought it as necessary to give some Instances at home, how little he feared those Men who were thought to be so much his Rivals in power, and in the opinion of the Army, that he durst not disoblige them. And therefore, after

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XV.

Cromwell  
turns Lambert  
out of the  
Army.

some sharp expostulations with *Lambert*, who was as positive in his own humor, he sent to him for his Commission; which he sullenly gave up, when there was a general imagination that he would have refused to have delivered it. So he was deprived of his Regiment, his authority in the Army, and of being Major-General in the North, in an instant, without the least appearance of contradiction or murmur; and the Officers *Cromwell* substituted in the several places, found all the obedience that had been paid to the other; and *Lambert* retired to his Garden as unvisited and untaken notice of, as if he had never been in Authority; which gave great reputation to the Protector, that he was entire Master of his Army.

He had observed, throughout the Parliament, that the Major-Generals were extremely odious to the People, as they had been formidable to him. For, whilst his Party were prosecuting to have his Authority confirmed to him, and that he might have the Title of King conferred upon him, *Lambert* was as solicitous to have the Major-Generals confirmed by Parliament, and to have their dependance only upon it; which, with the authority they had of lifting Men in a readiness, would have made their power, and their strength, in a short time to be equal to the other's. Now that was over, *Cromwell* was content to continue their Names, that they might still be formidable in the Counties, but Abridged them of all that power which might be inconvenient to Himself.

He abridges  
the power of  
his Major-  
Generals.

He took likewise an occasion from an accident that happened, to amuse the People with the apprehension of Plots at home to facilitate an Invasion from

He acquaints  
the L<sup>d</sup>. Mayor,



abroad; and sending for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen to attend him, he made them a large discourse of the danger they were in of being surpris'd; "that there was a design to seize upon the Tower; and at the same time that there should be a general Insurrection in the City of the Cavaliers, and discontented Party, whilst the City remained so secure, that they had put their Militia into no posture to be ready to preserve themselves in such an Attempt; but on the contrary, that they were so negligent in their Discipline, that the Marquis of *Ormond* had lain securely in the City full three Weeks without being discovered; who was sent over by the King to countenance a general Insurrection, whilst the King himself, he said, had ten thousand Men ready at *Bruges*, with two-and-twenty Ships, with which he meant to invade some other more Northern part of the Kingdom." He wished them "to lose no time in putting their Militia into a good posture, and to make very strict searches to discover what Strangers were harboured within the Walls of the City, and to keep good Watches every Night." He ordered double Guards to be set about the Tower; and that they might see that there was more than ordinary Occasion for all this, he caused very many Persons of all conditions, most of them such as were reasonably to be suspected to be of the King's Party, to be surpris'd in the Night in their Beds (for those circumstances made all that was done to be the more notorious) and after some short Examination, to be sent to the Tower; and to other Prisons; for there was,

B O O K  
XV.

&c. of the  
City with a  
Plot of the  
Cavaliers,  
and the Mar-  
quis of Or-  
mond's being  
in England.

Many Persons  
seized on  
upon that  
Account.

B O O K at the same time, the same severity used in the several  
 xv. Counties; for the better explanation, and understanding whereof, it will be necessary now that We return to *Flanders*.

The King's  
 Affairs in  
 Flanders.

Within little more than two Months after the King's coming to *Bruges*, the little Treaty which had been signed by the Arch-Duke with the King, was sent ratified from *Madrid* by the King of *Spain*, with many great compliments; which the King was willing should be believed to be of extraordinary Importance. After wonderful excuses of the Lowness of their affairs in all places, which disabled them to perform those Services which are due from, and to a great King, they let his Majesty know, "that the  
 " Catholic King had assigned so many Crowns as  
 " amounted to six thousand Guilders, to be paid  
 " every Month towards a Royal Aid; and half so  
 " much more, for the support of the Duke of *Glo-*  
 " *cester*; that though the Sum was very small, it was  
 " as much as their necessities would bear; and the  
 " smallness should be recompensed by the punctual-  
 " ity of the payment," the first payment being to be made about the middle of the next Month; without taking notice that the King had been already in that Country near three Months, during which time he had not received the least Present, or assistance towards his support.

They were willing that the King should raise four Regiments of Foot, which should march with their Army, until the King should find the season ripe to make an Invasion with that other supply which they were bound by the Treaty to give. But for the raising  
 those

those four Regiments, there was not one penny allowed, or any other encouragement, than little Quarters to bring their Men to; and, after their Muster, the common allowance of Bread. However, the King was glad of the opportunity to employ, and dispose of many Officers and Soldiers, who flocked to him from the time of his first coming into *Flanders*. He resolved to raise one Regiment of Guards, the Command whereof he gave to the Lord *Wentworth*, which was to do duty in the Army as common Men, till his Majesty should be in such a posture, that they might be brought about his Person. The Marquis of *Ormond* had a Regiment in order to be commanded by his Lieutenant-Colonel, that the *Irish* might be tempted to come over. The Earl of *Rocheſter* would have a Regiment, that such Officers and Soldiers might resort to, who were desirous to serve under his Command: and because the *Scots* had many Officers about the Court, who pretended that they could draw many of their Country-Men to them, the King gave the fourth Regiment to the Lord *Newburgh*, a Nobleman of that Kingdom, of great courage; who had served his Father and himself with very signal fidelity. These four Regiments were raised with more expedition than can be imagined, upon so little encouragement.

B O O K  
XV.

The King  
raises four  
Regiments of  
his Subjects  
in *Flanders*.

As soon as the Treaty was confirmed, in truth, from the time that his Majesty came into *Flanders*, and that he resolved to make as entire a Conjunction with the *Spaniards* as they would permit, he gave notice to the King of *France*, that he would no longer receive that Pension, which, during the time he had

The King  
no longer  
receives any

**BOOK** remained at *Cologne*, had been reasonably well paid; but, after his coming into *Flanders*, he never would receive any part of it

XV.  
Penſion from  
France.

The Marquis  
of Ormond  
ſent to treat  
with the  
Lord Muskery  
at Condé  
about his Re-  
giment The  
Chancellor of  
the Exche-  
quer ſent to  
Bruffels to  
confer with  
Don Alonzo  
de Cardinas.

The *Spaniſh* Army was at this time before *Condé*; a place Garriſoned by the *French* between *Valenciennes* and *Cambray*; which was inveſted now by *Don Juan*; who finding that the greateſt part of the Garrifon conſiſted of *Irish*, and that there was in it a Regiment commanded by *Muskery*, a Nephew of the Marquis of *Ormond*, he thought this a good ſeaſon to maniſeſt the dependance the *Irish* had upon the King; and therefore writ to his Maſteſty at *Bruges*, and deſired that he would ſend the Marquis to the Camp; which his Maſteſty could not reſuſe; and the Marquis was very willing to go thither; and at the ſame time the Chancellor of the Exchequer was ſent to *Bruffels* (under pretence of ſoliciting the payment of the three firſt Months, which were aſſigned to the King) to confer with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas* upon all ſuch particulars as might be neceſſary, to adjust ſome deſign for the Winter upon *England*; *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, referring all things which related to *England* to *Don Alonzo*, and being very glad that the Chancellor went to *Bruffels*, at the ſame time that the Marquis went to the Camp, that ſo a correſpondence between them two might aſcertain any thing that ſhould be deſired on either ſide.

*Condé* was reduced to ſtraits by the time the Marquis came thither; who was received with much more civility by *Don Juan*, at leaſt by the Marquis of *Carracena*, than any Man who related to the King, or indeed than the King himſelf. The thing they de-



fired of him was, that when the Garrison should be reduced, which was then Capitulating, he would prevail with those of the *Irish* Nation, when they marched out, to enter into the *Spanish* Service, that is, as they called it, to serve their own King: for they talked of nothing but going over in the Winter into *England*; especially they desired that his Nephew *Muskery*, who had the reputation of a stout and an excellent Officer, as in truth he was, would come over with his Regiment, which was much the best, whatever the other would do. After the Capitulation was signed, the Marquis easily found opportunity to confer with his Nephew, and the other Officers of the several Regiments. When he had informed them of the King's pleasure and that the entering into the service of the *Spaniard* was, for the present, necessary in order to the King's service, the other Regiments made no scruple of it; and engaged, as soon as they marched out, to go whither they should be directed.

The Success  
of the Mar-  
quis' confer-  
ence with  
*Muskery*.

Only *Muskery* expressly refused that either himself, or any of his Men should leave their Colors, till, according to his Articles, they should march into *France*. He said, "it was not consistent with his honor to do otherwise." But he declared, "that as soon as he should come into *France*, he would leave his Regiment in their Quarters; and would himself Ride to the Court, and demand his Pass; which, by his contract with the Cardinal, was to be given to him, whenever his own King should demand his Service; and his Regiment should likewise be permitted to march with him." It was urged to him,

B O O K “ that it was now in his own power to dispose of  
 XV. “ himself; which he might lawfully do; but that,  
 “ when he was found in *France*, he would no more  
 “ have it in his power.” He said, “ He was bound  
 “ to ask his dismissal, and the Cardinal was bound  
 “ to give it: and when he had done His part, he was  
 “ very confident the Cardinal would not break his  
 “ word with him; but if he should, he would get  
 “ nothing by it; for he knew his Men would follow  
 “ him whithersoever he went; and therefore desired  
 “ his Uncle to satisfy himself; and to assure the King  
 “ and *Don Juan*, that he would, within six weeks,  
 “ return; and if he might have Quarters assigned him,  
 “ his Regiment should be there within few days after  
 “ him.” It was in vain to press him farther, and the  
 Marquis telling *Don Juan*, that he believed he would  
 keep his word, he was contented to part kindly with  
 him; and had a much better esteem of him than of  
 the other Officers, who came to him, and brought  
 over their Men without any Ceremony.

*Muskery* marched away with the rest of the Gar-  
 rison; and as soon as he was in *France*, rode to *Paris*;  
 where the Cardinal then was; who received him with  
 extraordinary Grace; but when he asked his dismiss-  
 sion, and urged his Capitulation, the Cardinal, by  
 all imaginable Caresses, and promises of a pension,  
 endeavoured to divert him from the inclination; told  
 him, “ that this was only to serve the *Spaniard*, and  
 “ not his own King; who had no employment for  
 “ him; that if he would stay in their Service till the  
 “ King had need of him, he would take care to send  
 “ Him, and his Regiment, in a better Condition to

“ his Majesty, than they were now in.” When he could neither with promises, nor reproaches, divert him from quitting their Service, he gave him a Pass only for Himself; and expressly refused to dismiss the Regiment; averring, “ that he was not bound to it, “ because there could be no pretence that they could “ serve the King; who had no use of them, nor where- “ withal to pay them.”

*Muskery* took what he could get, his own Pass; and made haste to the place where his Regiment was; and after he had given them such directions as he thought necessary, he came away only with two or three Servants to *Brussels*; and desired *Don Juan* to assign him convenient Quarters for his Regiment; which he very willingly did; and he no sooner gave notice to them whither they should come, but they behaved themselves so, that, by sixes and sevens, his whole Regiment, Officers and Soldiers, to the number of very near eight hundred, came to the place assigned them; and brought their Arms with them; which the *Spaniard* was amazed at; and ever after very much valued him, and took as much care for the preservation of that Regiment, as of any that was in their Service.

When the Marquis proposed any thing that concerned the King, during the time he was in the Army, *Don Juan* still writ to *Don Alonzo* to confer with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about it; who found *Don Alonzo* in all respects so untractable, and so absolutely governed by the *Irish* Jesuit, who filled his head with the hopes of the Levellers, that, after he had received the Money that was assigned to the

B O O K  
XV.

Muskery  
brings his  
Regiment  
over to the  
Spaniards.

The Chancel-  
lor of the  
Exchequer's  
Conferences  
with Don  
Alonzo.

**B O O K** King, he returned to *Bruges*, as the Marquis did from  
**XV.** the Army when the business of *Condé* was over.

It was well enough known, at least generally believed, from the time that the secret confidence begun between *Cromwell* and the Cardinal, and long before *Lockhart* appeared there as Ambassador, that the Cardinal had not only promised, "that the King should receive no assistance from thence; but that no body who related to his Service, or against whom any exception should be taken, should be permitted to reside in *France*;" and that, as the King had already been driven thence; so when the time should be ripe, the Duke of *York* would be likewise necessitated to leave that Kingdom. And now, upon the King's coming into *Flanders*, and upon the coming over of the six thousand *English* for the Service of *France*, and the publication of the Treaty with *Cromwell*, the *French* did not much desire to keep that Article secret which provided against the King's residing in that Kingdom, and for the exclusion of the Duke of *York*, and many other Persons, by Name, who attended upon the King, and some who had Charges in the Army. And the Cardinal and the Queen with some seeming regret, communicated it to the Duke, as a thing they could not refuse, and infinitely lamented, with many professions of kindness and everlasting respect; and all this in confidence, and that he might know it some time before it was to be executed by his departure.

Amongst those who by that secret Article were to leave the *French* Service, the Earl of *Bristol* was one; whose Name was, as was generally believed, put into

The Cardinal gives notice to the Duke of York that he must leave the French Service.



the Article by the Cardinal, rather than by *Cromwell*. For the Earl, having received very great Obligations from the Cardinal, thought his Interest greater in the Queen than in truth it was (according to his Natural custom of deceiving himself) and so, in the Cardinal's disgrace and retirement, had showed himself less inclined to his return than he ought to have been; which the Cardinal never forgave; yet treated him with the same familiarity as before (which the Earl took for pure Friendship) until the time came for the publishing this Treaty, when the Earl was Lieutenant-General of the Army in *Italy*. Then he sent for him; and bewailed the Condition that *France* was in, "which obliged them to receive Commands from *Cromwell*, which were very uneasy to them; then told him, that he could stay no longer in their Service, and that they must be compelled to dismiss the Duke of *York* himself;" but made infinite professions of kindness, and "that they would part with him, as with a Man that had done them great Service." The Earl, who could always much better bear ill Accidents than prevent them, believed that all proceeded from the Malice of *Cromwell*; and quickly had the Image of a better fortune in his fancy than that he was to quit; and so setting his heart upon the getting as good a supply of Money from them as he could, and the Cardinal desiring to part fairly with him, he received such a Present, as enabled him to remove with a handsome Equipage in Servants and Horses. So he came directly for *Bruges* to the King; to whom he had made himself in some degree gracious before his Majesty left *Paris*. But his business

B O O K  
XV.

The Earl of  
Bristol or-  
dered also to  
leave France.

Comes to  
Bruges to  
the King.

**B O O K** there was only to present his Duty to his Majesty ;  
**XV.** where after he had stayed two or three days, he made his Journey to the Army to offer his Service to *Don Juan* without so much as desiring any recommendation from the King.

There was nothing more known , than that the *Spaniard* had all imaginable prejudice and hatred against the Earl, both for the little kindness he had showed toward them in *England*, whilst he was Secretary of State , of which *Don Alonzo* was a faithful Remembrancer, and for the more than ordinary Animosity he had expressed against them from the time that he had been in the *French* Service; which angered them the more, because he had been born in *Spain*. He had then likewise rendered himself particularly odious to *Flanders*; where he was proclaimed , and detested, in all the Rhymes and Songs of the Country, for the savage Outrages his Forces had committed by Fire and Plunder, two years before , when he made a Winter-Incursion with his Troops into that Country, and committed greater Waste than ever the *French* Themselves had done , when the Forces were Commanded by Them. Upon all which, his Friends dissuaded him at *Bruges* from going to the *Spanish* Army, where he would receive very cold treatment. But he smiled at the advertisement ; and told them ,  
 “ that all the time he was in *France* , he was out of  
 “ his Sphere ; and that his own Genius always dis-  
 “ posed him to *Spain*; where he was now resolved  
 “ to make his Fortune.” And with this confidence he left *Bruges*, and went to the Army, when it had newly taken *Condé* ; where he found his reception such,

both from *Don Juan* and the Marquis of *Carracena*, as he had reason to expect; which did not at all deject him. BOOK  
XV.

He was present when *Don Juan* ate, and when he used to discourse of all things at large; and most willingly of Scholastic points, if his Confessor, or any other Learned Person, was present. The Earl always interposed in those discourses with an admirable acuteness, which, besides his exactness in the *Spanish* Language, made his parts wondered at by every Body; and *Don Juan* begun to be very much pleased with his Company; and the more, because he was much given to speculations in Astrology; in which he found the Earl so much more conversant than any Man he had met with, that, within a Week after he had first seen him, he desired the Earl to calculate his Nativity. In a word, his presence grew to be very acceptable to *Don Juan*; which when the Marquis of *Carracena* discerned, he likewise treated him with more respect; in which he found likewise his account: for the Earl having been Lieutenant-General of the *French* Army under Prince *Thomas*, in conjunction with the Duke of *Modena*, against *Milan*, the very year before, when the Marquis of *Carracena* was Governor there, he could both discourse the several Transactions there with the Marquis, and knew how to take fit occasions, both in his presence and absence, to magnify his Conduct in signal Actions; which the Marquis was very glad to see, and hear, that he did very frequently. And *Don Alonzo* being sent for to the Army to consult some Affair, though he had all imaginable detestation of the Earl, and had pre-

Ingratiates himself with *Don Juan*, notwithstanding the great prejudice the Spaniards had against him.

**B O O K** XV. **K**pared as much prejudice towards him in *Don Juan* and the Marquis, when he found him in so much favor with both, he treated him likewise with more regard; and was well content to hear himself commended by him for understanding the Affairs of *England*; which he desired *Don Juan* and the Marquis should believe him to do. So that before he had been a Month in *Flanders*, he had perfectly reconciled himself to the Court, and to the Army; and suppressed, and diverted all the prejudice that had been against him; and *Don Juan* invited him to spend the Winter with him at *Brussels*.

He is instrumental in recovering St. Ghislain to the Spaniards.

There was another Accident likewise fell out at this time, as if it had been produced by his own Stars. The *French* had yet a Garrison at a place called *St. Ghislain*; which, being within few Leagues of *Brussels*, infested the whole Country very much, and even put them into Mutiny against the Court, that they would think of any other Expedition before they had reduced that Garrison; which was so strong that they had once attempted it, and were obliged to desist. Half the Garrison were *Irish*, under the Command of *Schomberg*, an Officer of the first Rank. Some of the Officers were nearly allied to Sir *George Lane*, who was Secretary to the Marquis of *Ormond*, and had written to him to know, “whether the giving up that place would be a Service to the King?” and if it would, they would undertake it.” The Marquis sent his Secretary to inform the Earl of *Bristol* of it; who looked upon it as an opportunity sent from Heaven to raise his Fortune with the *Spaniard*. He communicated it to *Don Juan*, as a matter in his



own disposal, and to be conducted by Persons who had a dependance upon him, but yet who intended it only as a Service to the King. So now he became intrusted between the King and *Don Juan*; which he had from the beginning contrived to be; *Don Juan* being very glad to find he had so much Interest in the King, and the King well pleased that he had such credit with *Don Juan*, of whose Assistance in the next Winter he thought he should have much use; for all Attempts upon *England* must be in the Winter. In a word, this Affair of *St. Ghislain* was very acceptable to the *Spaniards*, their Campaign being ended without any other considerable Action than the taking of *Condé*. They foresaw a very bad year would succeed, if they should enter into the Field, where they were sure the *French* would be early, and leave *St. Ghislain* behind them; and they should run more hazard if they began with the Siege of that place; and therefore they authorized the Earl to promise great rewards in Money, and Pensions, to those Officers, and Soldiers, who would contribute to the reduction of it. The matter was so well carried, that *Don Juan* assembling his Army together a little before *Christmas*, in a very great frost, and coming before the place, though *Schomberg* discovered the Conspiracy; and apprehended two or three of the Officers; yet the Soldiers, who were upon the Guards in some out-Forts, declaring themselves at the same time, and receiving the *Spaniards*, he was compelled to make Conditions, and to give up the place, that he might have liberty to march away with the rest.

This Service was of very great importance to the

**B O O K** *Spaniard*, and no less detriment to the *French*, and  
**XV.** consequently gave great Reputation to the Earl; who  
then came to the King at *Bruges*, and said all that he  
thought fit of *Don Juan* to the King, and, amongst  
the rest, "that *Don Juan* advised his Majesty to send  
" some discreet Person to *Madrid*, to solicit his  
" Affairs there; but that he did not think the Person  
" he had designed to send thither (who was Sir *Henry*  
*de Vic*, that had been long Resident in *Brussels*)  
" would be acceptable there." This was only to in-  
troduce another Person, who was dear to him, Sir  
*Henry Bennet*, who had been formerly in his Office  
when he was Secretary of State, and bred by him;  
and was now Secretary to the Duke of *York*; but  
upon the factions that were in that Family was so  
uneasy in his place, that he desired to be in any other  
Post; and was about this time come to the King, as  
a forerunner to inform him of the Duke of *York*'s  
purpose to be speedily with him, being within few  
days to take his leave of the Court of *France*. *Bennet*  
had been long a Person very acceptable to the King;  
and therefore his Majesty readily consented, that he  
should go to *Madrid* instead of *de Vic*: so he returned  
with the Earl to *Brussels*, that he might be presented,  
and made known to *Don Juan*; from whom the Earl  
doubted not to procure particular recommendation.

The time was now come that the Duke of *York*  
found it necessary to leave *Paris*, and so came to the  
King to *Bruges*; where there were then all the visible  
hopes of the Crown of *England* together, and all the  
Royal Issue of the late King, the Princess *Henrietta*  
only excepted; for, besides the King and his two

He obtains of  
the King that  
Sir H. Bennet  
should be  
sent Envoy  
to Madrid.

The Duke of  
York leaves  
Paris, and  
comes to the  
King at  
Bruges.

Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, the Princess Royal of *Orange* made that her way from *Paris* into the Low Countries, and stayed there some days with her Brothers.

B O O K  
xv.

It was at this time that the King made the Chancellor of the Exchequer Lord Chancellor of *England*, Sir *Edward Herbert*, who was the last Lord Keeper of the Great-Seal, being lately dead at *Paris*. Now the King put the Seal, which he had till then kept himself, into the hands of the Chancellor; which he received very unwillingly: but the King first employed the Marquis of *Ormond*, with whom his Majesty knew he had an entire Friendship, to dispose him to receive it; which when he could not do (he giving him many reasons, besides his own unfitness, why there was no need of such an Officer, or indeed any use of the Great-Seal till the King should come into *England*; and "that his Majesty found some ease in being without such an Officer, that he was not troubled with those Suits, which he would be, if the Seal were in the hands of a proper Officer to be used, since every Body would be then importuning the King for the Grant of Offices, Honors, and Lands, which would give him great vexation to refuse, and do him as great mischief by granting." The which when the Marquis told the King) his Majesty himself went to the Chancellor's Lodging, and took notice of what the Marquis had told him; and said, "he would deal truly and freely with him; that the principal reason which he had alledged against receiving the Seal, was the greatest reason that disposed him to confer it upon him." There-

The Chancellor of the Exchequer made Lord Chancellor.

**B O O K** upon he pulled Letters out of his pocket, which he  
**xv.** received lately from *Paris* for the Grant of several  
 Reversions in *England* of Offices, and of Lands; one  
 whereof was of the Queen's House and Lands of  
*Oatlands*, to the same Man who had purchased it from  
 the State; who would willingly have paid a good  
 Sum of Money to that Person who was to procure  
 such a confirmation of his Title; the draught where-  
 of was prepared at *London*, upon confidence that it  
 would have the Seal presently put to it; which being  
 in the King's own hand, none need, as they thought,  
 to be privy to the secret. His Majesty told him also  
 of many other Importunities, with which he was  
 every day disquieted; and "that he saw no other  
 " Remedy to give himself ease, than to put the Seal  
 " out of his own keeping, into such hands as would  
 " not be importuned, and would help him to deny."  
 And thereupon he conjured the Chancellor to receive  
 that Trust, with many gracious promises of his fa-  
 vor and protection. Whereupon the Earl of *Bristol*,  
 and Secretary *Nicholas*, using likewise Their persua-  
 sions, he submitted to the King's pleasure; who de-  
 livered the Seal to him in the Council, in the *Christ-*  
*mas*-time in the year 1657; which particular is only  
 fit to be mentioned, because many great Affairs. and  
 some Alterations accompanied, though not attended  
 upon it.

After so long and so dark a retirement in *Cologne*,  
 the King's very coming into *Flanders* raised the Spirits  
 of his Friends in *England*. And when they were assured  
 that there was a Treaty signed between his Majesty  
 and the King of *Spain*, they made no doubt of an



Army sufficient to begin the business, and then that the general affections of the Kingdom would finish it. The King, who had hitherto restrained his Friends from exposing themselves to unnecessary dangers, thought it now fit to encourage them to put themselves into such a posture, that they might be ready to join with him when he appeared; which he hoped the *Spaniard* would enable him to do in the depth of Winter. Several Messengers were sent from *England* to assure him, “ that there was so universal a readiness “ there, that they could hardly be persuaded to stay “ to expect the King, but they would begin the “ Work Themselves: ” yet they complained much of the backwardness of those who were most trusted by the King. and They again as much inveighed against the rashness and precipitation of the other, „ that they would ruin themselves, and all People “ who should join with them.

B O O K

xv.

Transactions  
of the King's  
Friends in  
*England* :

The King was much perplexed to discover this distemper amongst those, who, if they were united, would find the Work very hard; and though he preferred in his own opinion the judgment of those that were most wary, yet it concerned him to prevent the other from appearing in an unseasonable Engagement; and therefore He sent to them, and conjured them “ to attempt nothing, till he sent a Person to “ them, who, if they were ready, should have Authority enough to persuade the rest to a conjunction “ with them, and should himself be fit to conduct “ them in any reasonable Enterprize. ”

The Marquis of *Ormond* had frankly offered to the King, “ that he would privately go into *England*, and

Which was  
the occasion of  
the Marquis

## BOOK

## XV.

of Ormond's  
going into  
England.

“ confer with those who were most forward; and if  
 “ he found, that their counsels were discreetly laid,  
 “ he would encourage them, and unite all the rest  
 “ to them; and if matters were not ripe, he would  
 “ compose them to be quiet; ” and there was no  
 Man in *England* affected to the King's Service. who  
 would not be readily advised by him. The Chan-  
 cellor would by no means consent to his Journey, as  
 an unreasonable Adventure upon an improbable de-  
 sign, seeing no ground to imagine they could do any  
 thing. But the Marquis exceedingly undervalued  
 any imagination of danger; and it cannot be concei-  
 ved, with what security all Men ventured every day,  
 in the height of *Cromwell's* jealousy and vigilance, to  
 go into *England*, and to stay a Month in *London*, and  
 return again. The King consenting to the Journey,  
 the chief care was, that the Marquis' absence from  
*Bruges* might not create jealousy, and discourse,  
 “ whither he should be gone.” Therefore it was for  
 some time discoursed, “ that the Marquis of Or-  
 “ mond was to go into *Germany* to the Duke of New-  
 “ burgh ” (who was known to have affection for the  
 King) and “ that he should from thence bring with  
 “ him two Regiments for the Service of his Majesty.”

These discourses being generally made and belie-  
 ved, the Marquis took his Leave publicly of the  
 King, with his Servants fit for such a Journey, who  
 continued the Journey towards *Germany*; so that the  
 Letters from *Cologne* to all places gave an Account of  
 the Marquis of *Ormond's* being there; whilst he him-  
 self, with one only Servant, and *O Neile* ( who had  
 encouraged him very much to that undertaking) took  
 the

the way of *Holland*; and hired a Bark at *Schevelin*; in which they Embarked; and were safely landed in *Essex*; from whence, without any trouble, they got to *London*, whilst the Parliament was still sitting. When he was there, he found means to speak with most of those of any condition upon whose Advice, and Interest, the King most depended, and against whose positive Advice his Majesty would not suffer any thing to be attempted. That which troubled him most was to discover a jealousy, or rather an Animosity between many of those who equally wished the King's Restoration, to that degree, that they would neither confer nor correspond with each other. They who had the most experience, and were of the greatest reputation with those who would appear when any thing was to be done, but would not expose themselves in Meetings or Correspondences before, complained very much of "the rashness of the others, " who believed any Officers of the Army that pretended discontent, and would presently desire them " to communicate with such Persons; which because " they refused (as they had reason) the others loaded " them with reproaches, as having lost all affection " and zeal for his Majesty's Service." They protested, " that they could not discover or believe that there " was any such preparations in readiness, that it " could be counsellable to appear in Arms against a " Government so fortified, and established, as the " Protector's seemed to be; that it was probable the " Parliament might not comply with *Cromwell's* desires; and then there was such a discovery of Malice " between several Persons of potent Condition, that

B O O K  
XV.  
The temper  
he found  
the King's  
friends in.

B O O K  
xv.

“ many advantages might be offered to the King’s Party : if they would have the patience to attend the event, and till those Factions should be engaged in blood, they might be sure to advance the King’s Interest in disposing of themselves; but if they should engage, before such a time, in any Insurrection, or by seizing some insignificant Town, all dissenting Parties would be reconciled, till the King’s Friends should all be ruined, though they might afterwards return to their old Animosities.” In a word, though they appeared very wary, they declared such a resignation to the King’s pleasure, that, if the Marquis were satisfied, upon his conference with other Men, that the time was ripe for their appearance in Arms, they would presently receive his Orders; and do what he should require, how unsuccessfully soever.

On the other side, there were many younger Men, who, having had no part in the former War, were impatient to show their courage and affection to the King. And those Men, being acquainted with many of the old Officers of the late King’s Army, who saw many of their old Soldiers now in *Cromwell’s* Army, and found them to talk after their old manner, concluded that they would all appear for the King, as soon as they should see his Colors flying. These Men talking together, would often discourse, how easy a thing it would be, with two Troops of Horse, to beat up such a Quarter, or seize such a Guard; and then those Men consulted how to get those Troops, and found Men who had lifted so many, which would be ready upon call. There were always in



these Meetings some Citizens, who undertook for the affection of the City; and some of these made little doubt of seizing upon the Tower. And truly the putting many Gentlemen's Sons as Apprentices into the City, since the beginning of the Troubles, had made a great alteration, at least in the general talk of that People. It was upon this kind of Materials, that many honest Men did build their hopes, and upon some assurances they had from Officers of the Army, who were as little to be depended upon.

There was another particular, which had principally contributed to this distemper, which passing from hand to hand had made Men impatient to be in Arms; which was an opinion, that the King was even ready to land with such an Army as would be able to do his business. This had been dispersed by some who had been sent Expresses into *Flanders*; who, though they always lay concealed during the time they waited for their despatches from the King, yet found some Friends and acquaintance about the Court, or in their way, who thought they did the King good service in making his Majesty be thought to be in a good condition; and so filled those People with such discourses, as would make them most welcome when they returned.

When the Marquis had taken the full survey of all that was to be depended upon, he conjured the warmer People to be quiet, and not to think of any Action till they should be infallibly sure of the King's being landed, and confirmed the other in their wariness; and being informed that *Cromwell* knew of his being there, and made many searches for him, he

**B O O K** thought it time to return. And so about the time that  
**xv.** the Parliament was dissolved, he was conducted by  
 The Marquis *De Quatemaine*, the King's Physician, through  
*Suffex*; and there Embarked, and safely Transported  
 returns out of into *France*; from whence he came into *Flanders*  
 England.

This gave the Occasion to *Cromwell* to make that  
 discourse before mentioned to the Mayor and Alder-  
 men of *London*, of the Lord Marquis of *Ormond's*  
 having been three Weeks in the City; of which he  
 had received perfect Intelligence from a hand that  
 was not then in the least degree suspected, nor was  
 then wicked enough to put him into *Cromwell's* hand;  
 which he could easily have done; of which more  
 shall be said hereafter. But when the Protector was  
 well assured that the Marquis was out of his reach,  
 which vexed and grieved him exceedingly, he caused  
 all Persons, who he knew had, or he thought might,  
 have spoken with him, to be apprehended. All Pri-  
 sons, as well in the Country as the City, were filled  
 with those who had been of the King's Party, or he  
 believed would be; and he thought this a necessary  
 season to terrify his Enemies, of all conditions, within  
 the Kindom, with Spectacles which might mortify  
 them.

In the preparations which had been made towards  
 an Insurrection, many Persons in the Country, as well  
 as in the City, had received Commissions for Regi-  
 Mr. Stapley's Engagements for the King.  
 ments of Horse and Foot; and, amongst the rest, one  
 Mr. *Stapley*, a Gentleman of a good extraction, and a  
 good fortune in the County of *Suffex*; whose Mother  
 had been Sister to the Earl of *Norwich*, but his Father  
 had been in the Number of the blackest Offenders, and

one of the King's Judges. This Son of his, who now possessed his Estate, had taken great pains to mingle in the Company of those who were known to have affection for the King; and, upon all occasions, made professions of a desire, for the expiation of his Father's Crime, to venture his own life, and his Fortune for his Majesty's Restoration; and not only his Fortune, but his Interest was considerable in that Maritime County, so that Many thought fit to cherish those inclinations in him, and to encourage him to hope, that his fidelity might deserve to enjoy that Estate, which the Treason of his Father had forfeited.

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There was a young Gentleman, *John Mordaunt*, the younger Son, and Brother, of the Earls of *Peterborough*; who, having been too young to be engaged in the late War, during which time he had his Education in *France*, and *Italy*, was now of Age, of Parts, and great vigor of mind. and newly married to a young beautiful Lady of a very Loyal Spirit, and notable vivacity of Wit and Humor, who concurred with him in all honorable dedications of himself. He resolved to embrace all opportunities to serve the King, and to dispose those upon whom he had influence, to take the same resolution; and being allied to the Marquis of *Ormond*, he did by him inform his Majesty of his resolution, and his readiness to receive any commands from him. This was many Months before the Marquis' Journey into *England*.

Mr Mordaunt  
is active for  
the King.

Mr. *Stapley* was well known to Mr. *Mordaunt*, who had represented his affections to the King, and how useful he might be towards the possessing some place in *Sussex*, and his undertaking that he would

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do so, by a Letter to the King under Mr. *Stapley's* own hand: and thereupon Mr. *Mordaunt* desired, that his Majesty would send a Commission for the Command of a Regiment of Horse to him; which he would provide, and cause to be ready against the season he should be required to appear: which Commission, with many others, was sent to Mr. *Mordaunt*; and he delivered it to Mr. *Stapley*; who was exceedingly pleased with it, renewed all his Vows and Protestations; and it is still believed that he really meant all he pretended. But he had trusted some Servant, who betrayed him; and being thereupon sent for by *Cromwell*, his Father's fast old Friend, was by him so cajoled by promises and by threats, that he was not able to withstand him; but believing that he knew already all that he asked him, he concealed nothing that he knew himself; informed him of those of the same Country who were to join with him; of whom some had likewise received Commissions, as well as himself; and in the end he confessed, "that he had received his Commission from Mr. *Mordaunt's* own hand." Before this discovery Mr. *Mordaunt* had been sent for by *Cromwell*, and very strictly examined, whether he had seen the Marquis of *Ormond* during his late being in *London*; which, though he had done often, he very confidently and positively denied, being well assured that it could not be proved, and that the Marquis himself was in safety: upon which confident denial, he was dismissed to return

Mr. *Stapley* discovers what he knew of the Plot.

Mr. *Mordaunt* seized on, and committed to the Tower.

to his own Lodging. But upon this discovery by *Stapley*, he was within two days after sent for again, and committed close Prisoner to the Tower; and new



Men were every day sent for, and committed in all Quarters of the Kingdom; and within some time after, a high Court of Justice was erected for the Trial of the Prisoners, the Crimes of none being yet discovered; which put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible Consternation.

Before this high Court of Justice, of which *John Lisle*, who gave his Vote in the King's blood, and continued an entire Confident and Instrument of *Cromwell's*, was President; there were first brought to be tried, *John Mordaunt*; Sir *Henry Slingsby*, a Gentleman of a very ancient Family, and of a very ample Fortune in *Yorkshire*; and Dr. *Hewet*, an eminent Preacher in *London*, and very Orthodox, to whose Church those of the King's Party frequently resorted, and few but those. These three were totally unacquainted with each other; and though every one of them knew enough against himself, they could not accuse one another, if they had been inclined to it. The first and the last could not doubt but that there would be evidence enough against them; and they had found means to correspond so much together, as to resolve that neither of them would plead to the Impeachment, but demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, and desire to have Council assigned to argue against it in point of Law; they being both sufficiently instructed, how to urge Law enough to make it evident that neither of them could be legally tried by that Court, and that it was erected contrary to Law. The first that was brought to trial, was Mr. *Mordaunt*. After his Arraignment, by which he found

Mr. Mordaunt, Sir H. Slingsby; and Dr. Hewet, tried before a high Court of Justice.

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that the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley* would be principally insisted on, and which he knew might too easily be proved, he, according to former resolution, refused to plead Not-guilty; but insisted, "that  
" by the Law of the Land he ought not to be tried  
" by that Court;" for which he gave more reasons than they could answer; and then desired, "that  
" his Council might have liberty to argue the point  
" in Law;" which of course used to be granted in all Legal Courts. But he was told, "that he was better  
" to bethink himself; that they were well satisfied in  
" the Legality of their Court, and would not suffer  
" the Jurisdiction of it to be disputed; that the Law  
" of *England* had provided a Sentence for such obstinate Persons as refused to be tried by it; which was,  
" that they should be condemned as Mutes; which  
" would be His Case," if he continued refractory: so he was carried back to the Tower, to consider better what he would do the next day. Sir *Henry Slingsby* was called next. He knowing nothing of, or for the other resolution, pleaded Not-guilty; and so was sent to the Prison to be tried in his turn. Dr. *Hewet*, whose greatest Crime was collecting and sending Money to the King, besides having given Money to some Officers, refused to plead, as Mr. *Mordaunt* had done, and demanded that his Council might be heard, and received the same answer, and admonition, that the other had done; and was remitted again to Prison.

Those Courts seldom consisted of fewer than twenty Judges; amongst whom, there were usually some, who, out of pity or for Money, were inclined

to do good Offices to the Prisoners who came before them; at least to communicate such Secrets to them, as might inform them what would be most pressed against them. Mr. *Mordaunt's* Lady had, by giving Money, procured some in the number to be very propitious to her Husband: and in the evening of that day the Trial had been begun, she received two very important advices from them. The one, "that she should prevail with her Husband to plead; then his Friends might do him some Service: whereas, if he insisted upon the point of Law, he would infallibly suffer, and no Man durst speak for him." The other, "that they had no sufficient proof to condemn him upon any particular with which he stood charged, but only for the delivery of the Commission to *Stapley*; and that there was to that point, besides *Stapley*, one Colonel *Mallory*, whose testimony was more valued than the other's." This *Mallory* had the reputation of an honest Man, and loved Mr. *Mordaunt* very well, and was one of those who were principally trusted in the business of *Suffex*, and had been apprehended about the same time that *Stapley* was; and finding, upon his first Examination, by the Questions administered to him by *Thurlow*, that all was discovered, he unwarily confessed all that he knew concerning Mr. *Mordaunt*; having been himself the Person principally employed between him and *Stapley*. He was brought in Custody from the Tower, to give in Evidence against Mr. *Mordaunt*, with an intention in the Court, after he had done that good Service, to proceed as strictly against himself, though they promised him indemnity.

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The means  
by which Mr.  
*Mordaunt*  
-escaped Sen-  
tence.

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The Lady, having clear information of this whole matter, could not find any way that night to advertise her Husband, that he should no more insist upon the want of Jurisdiction in the Court. For there was no possibility of speaking with, or sending to him, during the time of his Trial. Therefore she laid aside the thought of that business till the morning, and passed the night in contriving how *Mallory* might be prevailed with to make an Escape; and was so dexterous, and so fortunate, that a Friend of Hers disposed the Money she gave him so effectually, that the next morning, when *Mallory* was brought to the Hall to be ready to give in his Evidence, he found some means to withdraw from his Guard, and when he was in the Crowd he easily got away.

She had as good fortune likewise to have a little Note she writ concerning the other Advice, put into her Husband's hand, as he passed to the Bar; which having perused, he departed from his former resolution; and after he had modestly urged the same again which he had done the day before, to spend time, and the President, in much choler, answering as he had done, he submitted to his Trial; and behaved himself with Courage; and easily evaded the greatest part of the Evidence they had against him; nor could they find proof, what presumption soever there might be, that he had spoken with the Marquis of *Ormond*; and he evaded many other particulars of his correspondence with the King, with notable Address. That of the Commission of *Stapley* was reserved to the last; and the Commission being produced, and both the hand and the Signet generally



known, by reason of so many of the like, which had fallen into their hands at *Worcester*, and by many other Accidents, Mr. *Stapley* was called to declare where he had it; and seeing himself confronted by Mr. *Mordaunt*, though he did, after many questions and reproaches from the Council that prosecuted, at last confess that he did receive it from Mr. *Mordaunt*; yet he did it in so disorderly and confused a manner, that it appeared he had much rather not have said it; and answered the Questions Mr. *Mordaunt* asked him with that confusion, that his Evidence could not be satisfactory to any impartial Judges. Then *Mallory* was called for; but by no search could be found; and they could not, by their own Rules, defer their Sentence. And it so fell out by one of the Judge's withdrawing upon a sudden fit of the Stone, that the Court was divided, one half for the Condemning him, and the other half that he was not Guilty; whereupon the determination depended upon the single Vote of the President; who made some excuses for the Justice he was about to do, and acknowledged many obligations to the Mother of the Prisoner, and, in contemplation thereof, pronounced him Innocent for ought appeared to the Court. There was not in *Cromwell's* time the like Instance; and scarce any other Man escaped the Judgment, that was tried before any high Court of Justice. And he was so offended at it, that, contrary to all the forms used by themselves, he caused him to be kept for some Months after in the Tower, and would willingly have brought him to be tried again. For, within a day or two after, *Mallory* was retaken, and they had likewise corrupted

**B O O K** a *French* man, who had long served him, and was  
 xv. the only Servant whom he had made choice of (since he was to be allowed but one) to attend him in the Prison: and he had discovered enough to have taken away his Life several ways. But the scandal was so great, and the Case so unheard of, that any Man, discharged upon a public Trial, should be again proceeded against upon new Evidence for the same Offence, that *Cromwell* himself thought not fit to undergo the Reproach of it, but was in the end prevailed with to set him at liberty. And he was very few days at liberty, before he embarked himself as frankly in the King's Service as before, and with better Success.

Sir Henry  
 Slingsby  
 condemned:

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, and poor Dr. *Hewet* had worse fortune; and their Blood was the more thirsted after for the other's Indemnity; and the Court was too severely reprehended, to commit the same fault again. The former had lain two years in Prison in *Hull*, and was brought now up to the Tower, for fear they might not discover enough of any new Plot, to make so many formidable Examples, as the present conjuncture required. They had against him Evidence enough (besides his incorrigible Fidelity to the Crown from the first assaulting it) that he had contrived, and contracted with some Officers of *Hull*, about the time that the Earl of *Rocheſter* had been in *Yorkshire* two years before, for the delivery of one of the Block-Houses to him for the King's Service: nor did he care to defend himself against the Accusation; but rather acknowledged, and justified his Affection, and owned his Loyalty to the King, with

very little compliment, or ceremony to the present Power. The other, Dr. *Hewet*, receiving no information of Mr. *Mordaunt's* declining the way formerly resolved upon (which it was not possible to convey to him in that instant, no Body being suffered to speak with him) and being brought to the Bar as soon as the other was removed from it, persisted in the same resolution, and spoke only against the illegality of the Court; which, upon better information, and before the Judgment was pronounced against him, he desired to retract, and would have put himself upon his Trial: but they then refused to admit him; and so Sentence of death was pronounced against them both; which they both underwent with great Christian Courage.

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and Doctor  
Hewet, re-  
fusing still to  
plead.

They are both  
Executed.

Sir *Henry Slingsby*, as is said before, was in the first Rank of the Gentlemen of *Yorkshire*; and was returned to serve as a Member in the Parliament that continued so many years; where he sat till the Troubles begun; and having no relation to, or dependance upon the Court, he was swayèd only by his Conscience to detest the violent and undutiful behaviour of that Parliament. He was a Gentleman of a good understanding, but of a very melancholic Nature, and of very few words: and when he could stay no longer with a good Conscience in their Councils, in which he never concurred, he went into his Country, and joined with the first who took up Arms for the King. And when the War was ended, he remained still in his own House, prepared and disposed to run the Fortune of the Crown in any other Attempt. And having a good Fortune and a general Reputation,

An account  
of Sir Henry  
Slingsby.

**B O O K** had a greater Influence upon the People, than They  
**xv.** who talked more and louder; and was known to be irreconcilable to the new Government; and therefore was cut off, notwithstanding very great Intercession to preserve him. For he was Uncle to the Lord *Falconbridge*; who engaged his Wife and all his new Allies to intercede for him, without effect. When he was brought to die, he spent very little time in discourse; but told them, "he was to die for being  
 " an honest Man, of which he was very glad."

And of Dr.  
 Hewet.

Dr. *Hewet* was born a Gentleman, and bred a Scholar, and was a Divine before the beginning of the Troubles. He lived in *Oxford*, and in the Army, till the end of the War, and continued afterwards to preach with great applause in a little Church in *London*; where, by the affection of the *Parish*, he was admitted, since he was enough known to lie notoriously under the brand of Malignity. When the Lord *Falconbridge* married *Cromwell's* Daughter (who had used secretly to frequent his Church) after the ceremony of the time, He was made choice of to marry them according to the order of the Church; which engaged both that Lord and Lady, to use their utmost credit with the Protector to preserve his Life; but he was inexorable, and desirous that the Churchmen, upon whom he looked as his mortal enemies, should see what they were to trust to, if they stood in need of his Mercy.

It was then believed that, if he had pleaded, he might have been acquitted, since in truth he never had been with the King at *Cologne* or *Bruges*; with which he was charged in his Indictment; and they had blood



enough in their power to pour out ; for, besides the two before-mentioned, to whom they granted the favor to be beheaded, there were three others Colonel *Ash-ton*, *Stacy*, and *Betteley*, condemned by the same Court ; who were treated with more severity ; and were hanged, drawn, and quartered, with the utmost rigor, in several great Streets in the City, to make the deeper impressiion upon the People, the two last being Citizens. But all Men appeared so nauseated with blood, and so tired with those abominable Spectacles, that *Cromwell* thought it best to pardon the rest who were condemned, or rather to relieve them ; amongst whom *Mallory* was one ; who was not at liberty till the King's Return ; and was more troubled for the weakness he had been guilty of, than They were against whom he had trespassed.

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Colonel Ash-ton, and Stacy, and Betteley, Citizens, condemned and executed.

Though the King, and all who were faithful to him, were exceedingly afflicted with this bloody proceeding, yet *Cromwell* did not seem to be the more confirmed in his Tyranny. It is true, the King's Party was the more dispirited ; but *Cromwell* found another kind of Enemy much more dangerous than they, and that knew better how to deal with him in his own way. They who were raised by him, and who had raised him. even almost the whole Body of Sectaries, Anabaptists, Independents, Quakers, declared an implacable hatred against him ; and whilst they contrived how to raise a power to contend with him, they likewise entered into several Conspiracies to assassinate him ; which he exceedingly apprehended. They sent an Address to the King by one of their Party, a young Gentleman of an honorable Extraction, and

*Cromwell* found new Enemies among the Sectaries.

An Address sent by the Anabaptists to the King.

**B O O K** great parts, by whom they made many extravagant  
**xv.** Propositions, and seemed to depend very much upon the death of *Cromwell*, and thereupon to compute their own power to serve the King; who gave such an Answer only to them, as might dispose them to hope for his favor, if he received service from them; and to believe that he did not intend to persecute, or trouble any Men for their Opinions, if their Actions were peaceable; which they pretended to affect.

Since the Spirit, Humor, and Language of that People, and, in truth, of that time, cannot be better described and represented, than by that Petition and Address, which was never published, and of which there remains no Copy in any hand, that I know of, but only the Original, which was presented to the King (it being too dangerous a thing for any Man who remained in *England*, to have any such transcript in his Custody) it will not be amiss in this place to insert the Petition and Address, in the very words in which it was presented to his Majesty, with the Letter, that accompanied it from the Gentleman mentioned before, who was an Anabaptist of special trust among them, and who came not with the Petition, but expected the King's pleasure upon the receipt of it; it being sent by an Officer who had served the King in an eminent Command, and was now gracious amongst those Sectaries without swerving in the least degree from his former principles and integrity: for that People always pretended a just esteem and value of all Men who had faithfully adhered to the King, and lived soberly and virtuously. The Address was in these words:

*To his most excellent Majesty, Charles the second,* **B O O K**  
*King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and* **XV**  
*the Dominions thereunto belonging.* The Address  
itself.

“ The humble Address of the Subscribers, in the  
 “ behalf of themselves, and many thousands  
 “ more, your Majesty’s most humble and faithful  
 “ Subjects.

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ When We sit down, and recount the wonderful  
 “ and unheard of Dispensations of God amongst Us,  
 “ when We call to our remembrances the Tragical  
 “ Actions, and Transactions of these late times, when  
 “ We seriously consider the dark and mysterious  
 “ effects of Providence, the unexpected disappoint-  
 “ ment of Counsels, the strange and strong convul-  
 “ sions of State, the various and violent Motions and  
 “ Commotions of the People, the many Changings,  
 “ Turnings, and Overturnings of Governors, and  
 “ Governments, which, in the revolutions of a few  
 “ years, have been produced in this Land of Mira-  
 “ cles, We cannot but be even swallowed up in  
 “ Astonishment, and are constrained to command an  
 “ unwilling silence upon our sometimes mutinous,  
 “ and over-inquiring hearts, resolving all into the  
 “ good Will and Pleasure of that all-disposing One,  
 “ whose Wisdom is unsearchable, and whose Ways  
 “ are past finding out.

“ But although it is, and We hope ever will be,  
 “ far from Us, either perversely or presumptuously  
 “ to kick against the irresistible Decrees of Heaven,  
 “ or vainly to attempt, by any faint and infirm de-  
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“ signs of Ours, to give an interruption to that over-  
 “ ruling Divine hand, which steers, and guides, go-  
 “ verns, and determines the Affairs of the whole  
 “ world; yet We cannot but judge it a Duty highly  
 “ incumbent upon Us, to endeavour, as much as in  
 “ Us lies, to repair the breaches of our dear Country.  
 “ And, since it is our lot ( We may say our unhap-  
 “ pinefs ) to be embarked in a Shipwrecked Com-  
 “ mon-wealth ( which , like a poor weather-beaten  
 “ Pinnace, has, for so long a time, been tossed upon  
 “ the waves and billows of Faction, split upon the  
 “ rocks of violence, and is now almost quite de-  
 “ voured in the quick-sands of Ambition ) what can  
 “ We do more worthy of *English*-Men, as We are  
 “ by Nation, or of *Christians*, as We are by Pro-  
 “ fession, than every one of Us to put our hand to  
 “ an Oar, and try if it be the Will of our God, that  
 “ such weak Instruments as We, may be, in any  
 “ measure, helpful to bring it at last into the safe and  
 “ quiet harbour of Justice and Righteousness ?

“ To this Undertaking, though too great for Us,  
 “ We are apt to think ourselves so much the more  
 “ strongly engaged, by how much the more We are  
 “ sensible, that as our Sins have been the greatest  
 “ causes, so our many follies and imprudences have  
 “ not been the least means of giving both birth and  
 “ growth to those many miseries, and calamities,  
 “ which We, together with three once most flourish-  
 “ ing Kingdoms, do at this day sadly groan under.

“ It is not, the Lord knows, it is not pleasing unto  
 “ Us, nor can We believe it will be grateful to your  
 “ Majesty, that We should recur to the beginnings,



“ rise, and root of the late unhappy differences be-  
 “ wixt your Royal Father and the Parliament. In  
 “ such a discourse as this, We may seem, perhaps,  
 “ rather to go about to make the Wounds bleed  
 “ afresh, than to endeavour the curing of them: yet  
 “ forasmuch as We do profess, that We come not  
 “ with Corrosives but with Balsams, and that our  
 “ desire is not to hurt but heal, not to pour Vinegar  
 “ but Oil into the wounds, We hope your Majesty  
 “ will give Us leave to open them gently, that We  
 “ may apply remedies the more aptly, and discover  
 “ our own past errors the more clearly.

“ In what posture the Affairs of these Nations  
 “ stood, before the noise of Drums and Trumpets  
 “ disturbed the sweet harmony that was amongst Us,  
 “ is not unknown to your Majesty: that We were  
 “ blest with a long Peace, and together with it, with  
 “ riches, wealth, plenty, and abundance of all things,  
 “ the lovely companions and beautiful products of  
 “ Peace, must ever be acknowledged with thank-  
 “ fulness to God, the Author of it, and with a grate-  
 “ ful veneration of the Memory of those Princes,  
 “ your Father, and Grandfather, by the propitious  
 “ Influence of whose care, and wisdom, We thus  
 “ flourished. But, as it is observed in natural Bodies,  
 “ idleness, and fulness of diet, do for the most part  
 “ lay the foundation of those Maladies, and secretly  
 “ nourish those diseases, which can hardly be expel-  
 “ led by the assistance of the most skilful Physician,  
 “ and seldom without the use of the most loathsome  
 “ Medicines, nay sometimes not without the hazar-  
 “ dous trial of the most dangerous Experiments; so

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“ did We find it, by sad experience, to be in this  
 “ great Body Politic. It cannot be denied, but the  
 “ whole Common-wealth was faint, the whole Na-  
 “ tion sick, the whole Body out of order, every  
 “ Member thereof feeble, and every part thereof  
 “ languishing. And in this so general, and universal  
 “ a distemper, that there should be no weakness nor  
 “ infirmity, no unsoundness in the Head, cannot  
 “ well be imagined. We are unwilling to enumerate  
 “ particulars, the mention whereof would but renew  
 “ old griefs, but, in general, We may say, and We  
 “ think it will gain the easy assent of all Men, that  
 “ there were many errors, many defects, many  
 “ excesses, many irregularities, many illegal and  
 “ eccentric Proceedings (some of which were in  
 “ matters of the highest and greatest concernments)  
 “ manifestly appearing as blots, and stains, upon the  
 “ otherwise good Government of the late King. That  
 “ these proceeded from the perversity of his own dispo-  
 “ sition, or from Principles of Tyranny radicated  
 “ and implanted in his own Nature, We do not see  
 “ how it can be asserted, without apparent injury to  
 “ the truth; it being confessed, even by his most  
 “ peevish Enemies, that he was a Gentleman, as of  
 “ the most strong and perfect Intellectuals, so of the  
 “ best and purest Morals, of any Prince that ever  
 “ swayed the *English* Sceptre. This the then Parlia-  
 “ ment being sensible of, and desirous, out of a  
 “ Zeal they had to the honor of their Sovereign, to  
 “ disperse and dispel those black Clouds that were  
 “ contracted about him, that he might shine the  
 “ more glorious in the beauty of his own Lustre,

“ thought themselves engaged in duty to endeavour  
 “ to redeem, and rescue him from the violent and  
 “ strong impulses of his evil Counsellors; who did  
 “ captivate him at their pleasures to their own cor-  
 “ rupt Lusts, and did every day thrust him into  
 “ Actions prejudicial to himself, and destructive to  
 “ the Common Good and Safety of the People.

“ Upon this Account, and to this, and no other  
 “ end, were We at first invited to take up Arms;  
 “ and though We have too great cause to conclude  
 “ from what We have since seen acted, that, under  
 “ those plausible, and gilded pretences of Liberty  
 “ and Reformation, there were secretly managed  
 “ the hellish designs of wicked, vile, and ambitious  
 “ Persons (whom though then, and for a long time  
 “ after, concealed, Providence, and the Series of  
 “ things, have since discovered to Us) yet We bless  
 “ God, that We went out in the simplicity of our  
 “ Souls, aiming at nothing more but what was pub-  
 “ licly owned in the face of the Sun; and that We  
 “ were so far from entertaining any thoughts of cast-  
 “ ing off our Allegiance to his Majesty, or extirpa-  
 “ ting his Family, that We had not the least inten-  
 “ tions of so much as abridging him of any of his just  
 “ Prerogatives, but only of restraining those excesses  
 “ of Government for the future, which were nothing  
 “ but the excrescences of a wanton Power, and were  
 “ more truly to be accounted the burdens, than  
 “ ornaments, of his Royal Diadem.

“ These things, Sir We are bold to make recital  
 “ of to your Majesty; not that We suppose your  
 “ Majesty to be ignorant of them, or that We take

BOOK XV. “ delight to derive the Pedigree of our own, and the  
 “ Nation’s misfortunes; but. like poor wildered  
 “ Travellers, perceiving that We have lost our way,  
 “ We are necessitated though with tired and irksome  
 “ steps, thus to walk the same ground over again,  
 “ that We may discover where it was that We first  
 “ turned aside, and may institute a more prosperous  
 “ course in the progress of our Journey. Thus far  
 “ We can say We have gone right, keeping the road  
 “ of honesty and sincerity, and having as yet done  
 “ nothing but what We think We are able to justify,  
 “ not by those weak and beggarly Arguments,  
 “ drawn either from success. which is the same to the  
 “ just and to the unjust, or from the silence and satis-  
 “ faction of a becalmed Conscience, which is more  
 “ often the effect of blindness than Virtue, but from  
 “ the sure, safe, sound, and unerring Maxims of law,  
 “ justice, reason, and righteousness.

“ In all the rest of our motions ever since to this  
 “ very day, We must confess, We have been wan-  
 “ dering, deviating, and roving up and down. this  
 “ way and that way, through all the dangerous,  
 “ uncouth, and untrodden Paths of Fanatic and  
 “ Enthusiastic Notions, till now at last, but too  
 “ late, We find ourselves intricated and involved  
 “ in so many Windings, Labyrinths, and Mean-  
 “ ders of knavery, that nothing but a divine clew  
 “ of thread, handed to Us from Heaven, can be  
 “ sufficient to extricate Us, and restore Us. We  
 “ know not, whether We have juster matter of shame  
 “ or sorrow administered to Us. when We take a  
 “ reflex view of our past Actions, and consider into



“ the Commission of what crimes, impieties, wicked-  
 “ nesses, and unheard of Villanies, We have been  
 “ led, cheated, cozened, and betrayed, by that  
 “ grand Impostor, that loathsome Hypocrite, that  
 “ detestable Traytor, that Prodigy of nature, that  
 “ *opprobrium* of Mankind, that Landskip of iniqui-  
 “ ty, that Sink of Sin, and that Compendium of  
 “ baseness, who now calls himself our Protector.  
 “ What have We done nay, what have We Not  
 “ done, which either hellish Policy was able to  
 “ contrive, or brutish power to execute? We have  
 “ trampled under foot all Authorities; We have  
 “ laid violent hands upon our own Sovereign; We  
 “ have ravished our Parliaments: We have deflour-  
 “ ed the Virgin-Liberty of our Nation; We have  
 “ put a Yoke, a heavy Yoke of Iron, upon the  
 “ Necks of our own Country-men; We have thrown  
 “ down the Walls and Bulwarks of the People’s  
 “ safety; We have broken often-repeated Oaths;  
 “ Vows, Engagements, Covenants, Protestations;  
 “ We have betrayed our Trusts; We have violated  
 “ our Faiths; We have lifted up our hands to Hea-  
 “ ven deceitfully; and that these our Sins might  
 “ want no aggravation to make them exceeding sin-  
 “ ful, We have added Hypocrisy to them all; and  
 “ have not only, like the audacious Strumpet, wiped  
 “ our Mouths, and boasted *that We have done no*  
 “ *evil*; but in the midst of all our abominations (such  
 “ as are too bad to be named amongst the worst of  
 “ Heathens) We have not wanted impudence enough  
 “ to say, let the Lord be glorified: let Jesus Christ  
 “ be exalted: let his Kingdom be advanced: let the

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“ Gospel be propagated: let the Saints be dignified:  
 “ let Righteousness be established: *Pudet hæc opprobria Nobis aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse refelli.*

“ Will not the holy one of *Israel* visit? will not  
 “ the Righteous one punish? will not He who is the  
 “ true and faithful one, be avenged for such things  
 “ as these? will he not, nay has he not already, come  
 “ forth as a swift witness against Us? has he not  
 “ whet his Sword? has he not bent his Bow? has  
 “ he not prepared his Quiver? has he not already  
 “ begun to shoot his Arrows at Us? who is so blind  
 “ as not to see that the hand of the Almighty is upon  
 “ Us, and that his Anger waxes hotter and hotter  
 “ against Us? How have our Hopes been blasted?  
 “ how have our Expectations been disappointed?  
 “ how have our ends been frustrated? All those  
 “ pleasant Sounds, under which We were sometimes  
 “ solacing and caressing ourselves, how are they  
 “ perished in a moment? how are they withered in  
 “ a Night: how are they vanished, and come to no-  
 “ thing? Righteous is the Lord, and righteous are  
 “ all his judgments. We have sown the wind, and  
 “ We have reaped a whirlwind; We have sown  
 “ fiction, and We have reaped confusion; We have  
 “ sown folly, and We have reaped deceit, when We  
 “ looked for liberty, behold slavery; when We ex-  
 “ pected righteousness, behold oppression; when  
 “ We sought for justice, behold a Cry, a great, and a  
 “ lamentable Cry throughout the whole Nation.

“ Every Man's hand is upon his Loins, every one  
 “ complaining, sighing, mourning, lamenting, and  
 “ saying, I am pained, I am pained, pain and anguish,

“ and sorrow, and perplexity of Spirit has taken hold  
 “ upon me, like the pains of a Woman in travail. B O O K  
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 “ Surely We may take up the lamentation of the Pro-  
 “ phet concerning this the Land of our Nativity.  
 “ How does *England* sit solitary? how is she become  
 “ as a Widow? she, that was great amongst the Na-  
 “ tions, and Princess among the Provinces, how is  
 “ she now become tributary? she weepeth sore in  
 “ the Night; her Tears are on her Cheeks; amongst  
 “ all her Lovers she hath None to comfort her; all  
 “ her Friends have dealt treacherously with her,  
 “ they are become her Enemies; she lifteth up her  
 “ voice in the Streets, she crieth aloud in the Gates  
 “ of the City, in the places of chief concourse, she  
 “ sitteth, and thus We hear her wailing and bemoan-  
 “ ing her condition; is it nothing to you, all ye  
 “ that pass by? behold, and see if there be any sorrow  
 “ like unto my sorrow, which is done unto me,  
 “ wherewith the Lord hath afflicted me in the day  
 “ of his fierce Anger. The Yoke of my Transgres-  
 “ sions is bound by his hands, they are wreathed,  
 “ and come up upon my Neck; he hath made my  
 “ strength to fall, the Lord hath delivered me into  
 “ Their hands from whom I am not able to rise up.  
 “ The Lord hath trodden under foot all my mighty  
 “ Men in the midst of me; he hath called an Assem-  
 “ bly to crush my young men; he hath trodden me as  
 “ in a Wine-press; all that pass by clap their hands  
 “ at me, they hiss and wag their heads at me, saying,  
 “ is this the Nation that Men call the perfection of  
 “ Beauty? the joy of the whole Earth? all mine  
 “ Enemies have opened their Mouths against me

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“ they hiss and gnash their teeth ; they say, We have  
“ swallowed her up ; certainly this is the day that We  
“ looked for, We have found, We have seen it.

“ How are our Bowels troubled ? how are our  
“ Hearts saddened ? how are our Souls afflicted, whilst  
“ We hear the groans, whilst We see the desolation  
“ of our dear Country ? it pitieth Us, it pitieth Us,  
“ that Sion should lie any longer in the dust. But,  
“ alas ! what shall We do for her in this day of her  
“ great Calamity ? We were sometimes wise to pull  
“ down, but We now want art to build ; We were  
“ ingenious to pluck up, but We have no skill to plant ;  
“ We were strong to destroy, but We are weak to  
“ restore : whither shall We go for help ? or to whom  
“ shall We address ourselves for Relief ? if We say,  
“ We will have recourse to Parliaments, and They  
“ shall save Us ; behold, They are broken Reeds,  
“ Reeds shaken with the wind, They cannot save  
“ Themselves. If We turn to the Army, and say,  
“ They are bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh,  
“ it may be They will, at last, have pity upon us,  
“ and deliver Us ; behold, They are become as a rod  
“ of Iron to bruise Us, rather than a staff of Strength  
“ to support Us. If We go to him who hath treache-  
“ rously usurped, and does Tyrannically exercise  
“ an unjust Power over Us, and say to him, free us  
“ from this Yoke, for it oppresseth Us, and from  
“ these burdens, for they are heavier than either We  
“ are, or our Fathers ever were, able to bear ;  
“ behold, in the Pride and Haughtiness of his Spirit,  
“ he answers Us, you are Factionous, you are Factionous ;  
“ if your burdens are heavy, I will make them yet



“ heavier if I have hitherto chastised you with Whips, B O O K  
 “ I will henceforward chastise you with Scorpions. XV.

“ Thus do We fly, like Patridges hunted, from  
 “ hill to hill, and from mountain to mountain, but  
 “ can find no rest; We look this way, and that way,  
 “ but there is none to save, none to deliver. At last  
 “ we begun to whisper, and but to whisper only,  
 “ among ourselves, saying one to another, why  
 “ should We not return to our first Husband? surely  
 “ it will be better with Us then, than it is now. At  
 “ the first starting of this question amongst Us, many  
 “ doubts, many fears, many jealousies, many suspi-  
 “ cions did arise within Us. We were conscious to  
 “ ourselves, that We had dealt unkindly with him,  
 “ that We had treacherously forsaken him, that We  
 “ had defiled ourselves with other Lovers, and that  
 “ our filthiness was still upon our skirts: therefore  
 “ were We apt to conclude, if We do not return  
 “ unto him, how can he receive Us? or if he does  
 “ receive Us, how can he love Us? how can he par-  
 “ don the injuries We have done unto him? how  
 “ can he forget the unkindness We have shown unto  
 “ him in the day of his distress?

“ We must confess (for We come not to deceive  
 “ your Majesty, but to speak the truth in simpli-  
 “ city) that these cowardly Apprehensions did, for a  
 “ while, make some strong impressions upon Us; and  
 “ had almost frightened Us out of our newly conceived  
 “ thoughts of Duty and Loyalty. But it was not  
 “ long before they vanished, and gave place to the  
 “ more Noble and Heroic considerations of Com-  
 “ mon Good, Public Safety, the Honor, Peace,

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“ Welfare, and Prosperity, of these Nations; all  
“ which We are persuaded, and do find, though by  
“ too late Experience, are as inseparably, and as na-  
“ turally bound up in your Majesty, as heat in fire,  
“ or light in the Sun. Contemning therefore, and  
“ disdaining, the mean and low thoughts of our own  
“ private Safety (which We have no cause to despair  
“ of, having to deal with so good and so gracious a  
“ Prince) We durst not allow of any longer debate  
“ about matters of Personal concernment; but did  
“ think ourselves engaged in Duty, Honor, and  
“ Conscience, to make this our humble Address unto  
“ your Majesty, and to leave ourselves at the feet  
“ of your Mercy; yet, lest We should seem to be  
“ altogether negligent of that first good, though since  
“ dishonored, Cause, which God has so eminently  
“ owned Us in and to be unmindful of the Security  
“ of those, who, together with ourselves, being  
“ carried away with the delusive, and hypocritical  
“ pretences of wicked and ungodly Men, have igno-  
“ rantly, not maliciously, been drawn into a concu-  
“ rence with those Actions which may render them  
“ justly obnoxious to your Majesty’s indignation,  
“ We have presumed in all humility to offer unto  
“ your Majesty these few Propositions hereunto  
“ annexed; to which if your Majesty shall be pleased  
“ graciously to condescend, We do solemnly protest  
“ in the presence of Almighty God, before whose  
“ Tribunal We know we must one day appear, that  
“ We will hazard our Lives, and all that is dear unto  
“ Us, for the restoring, and re-establishing your Ma-  
“ jesty in the Throne of your Father; and that We

“ will never be wanting in a ready and willing com- B O O K.  
 “ pliance to your Majesty’s Commands to approve xv.  
 “ ourselves,

“ Your Majesty’s

“ Most humble, most faithful,

“ and most devoted Subjects and Servants,

*W Howard.*

*John Wildman.*

*Ralph Jennings.*

*John Aumigau.*

*Edw. Penkarian.*

*Randolph Hedworth.*

*John Hedworth.*

*Thomas*

*John Sturgion.*

*Rich. Reynolds.*

“ The earnest desires of the Subscribers, in all hu- Their Propo-  
 “ mility presented to your Majesty in these fol- sitions annex-  
 “ lowing Proposals, in order to a happy, speedy, ed to is.  
 “ and well grounded Peace in these your Majes-  
 “ ty’s Dominions.

1. “ *Forasmuch* as the Parliament, called and con-  
 “ vened by the Authority of his late Majesty your  
 “ Royal Father, in the year 1640, was never legally  
 “ Dissolved; but did continue their Sitting until the  
 “ year 1648, at which time the Army, violently and  
 “ treasonably breaking in upon them, did, and has  
 “ ever since given a continued Interruption to their  
 “ Session, by taking away the whole House of Lords,  
 “ and secluding the greatest part of the House of Com-  
 “ mons, it is therefore humbly desired that (to the  
 “ end We may be established upon the ancient basis  
 “ and foundation of Law) your Majesty would be  
 “ pleased, by public Proclamations, as soon as it

BOOK XV. “ shall be judged seasonable, to invite all those Per-  
 “ sons, as well Lords as Commons, who were then  
 “ Sitting, to return to their places; and that your  
 “ Majesty would own them (so convened and met  
 “ together) to be the true and lawful Parliament of  
 “ *England*.

2. “ That your Majesty would concur with the  
 “ Parliament in the Ratification and Confirmation  
 “ of all those things granted, and agreed unto by the  
 “ late King your Father, at the last and fatal Treaty  
 “ in the Isle of *Wight*; as also in the making and  
 “ repealing of all such Laws, Acts, and Statutes, as  
 “ by the Parliament shall be judged expedient and  
 “ necessary to be made, and repealed, for the better  
 “ securing of the just and natural Rights and Liberties  
 “ of the People, and for the obviating, and prevent-  
 “ ing all dangerous and destructive excesses of Go-  
 “ vernment for the future.

3. “ *Forasmuch* as it cannot be denied, but that our  
 “ Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, by his Death and  
 “ Resurrection, has purchased the Liberties of his  
 “ own People, and is thereby become their sole Lord  
 “ and King, to whom, and to whom only, they owe  
 “ obedience in things Spiritual; We do therefore  
 “ humbly beseech your Majesty, that you would  
 “ engage your Royal Word never to erect, nor suf-  
 “ fer to be erected, any such Tyrannical, Popish, and  
 “ Antichristian Hierarchy (Episcopal, Presbyterian,  
 “ or by what name soever it be called) as shall assume  
 “ a power over, or impose a yoke upon, the Con-  
 “ sciences of others; but that every one of your Ma-  
 “ jesty’s Subjects may hereafter be left at liberty to



“ worship God in such a way, form, and manner, as  
 “ shall appear to them to be agreeable to the mind  
 “ and will of Christ, revealed in his word, according  
 “ to that proportion, or measure of faith and know-  
 “ ledge which they have received.

4. “ *Forasmuch* as the Exaction of Tithes is a bur-  
 “ den under which the whole Nation groans in  
 “ general, and the People of God in particular, We  
 “ would therefore crave leave humbly to offer it to  
 “ your Majesty’s consideration, that, if it be possible,  
 “ some other way may be found out for the mainte-  
 “ nance of that which is called the National Ministry;  
 “ and that those of the separated and congregated  
 “ Churches may not (as hitherto they have been,  
 “ and still are) be compelled to contribute thereunto.

5. “ *Forasmuch* as in these times of Licence, Confu-  
 “ sion, and Disorder, many honest, godly, and reli-  
 “ gious Persons, by the crafty devices and cunning  
 “ pretences of wicked Men, have been ignorantly,  
 “ and blindly led, either into the commission of, or  
 “ compliance with many vile, illegal, and abomina-  
 “ ble Actions, whereof they are now ashamed, We  
 “ do therefore most humbly implore your Majesty,  
 “ that an Act of Amnesty and Oblivion may be grant-  
 “ ed for the pardoning, acquitting, and discharging,  
 “ all your Majesty’s long deceived, and deluded  
 “ Subjects, from the guilt and imputation of all Cri-  
 “ mes, Treasons, and Offences whatsoever, com-  
 “ mitted or done by them, or any of them, either  
 “ against your Majesty’s Father, or your Self, since  
 “ the beginning of these unhappy Wars, excepting  
 “ only such who do adhere to that ugly Tyrant who

- B O O K** " calls himself Protector, or who, in justification of  
**XV.** " His, or any other Interest, shall, after the publica-  
 " tion of this Act of Grace, continue and persevere in  
 " their disloyalty to your Majesty.

The Gentleman who brought this Address, and these wild Propositions, brought likewise with him a particular Letter to the King from the Gentleman that is before described; upon whose temper, ingenuity, and interest, the Messenger principally depended, having had much acquaintance and conversation with him; who, though he was an Anabaptist, made himself merry with the extravagancy and madness of his Companions; and told this Gentleman, " that, " though the first Address could not be prepared but " with those Demands, which might satisfy the whole " Party, and comprehend all that was desired by any " of them, yet if the King gave them such an encouragement, as might dispose them to send some of " the wisest of them to attend his Majesty, he would " be able, upon conference with them, to make them " his Instruments to reduce the rest to more moderate " desires, when they should discern, that they might " have more protection and security from the King, " than from any other Power that would assume the " Government. "

The Letter was as followeth.

" May it please your Majesty,

The Letter to  
 the King sent  
 with the  
 Address.

" Time, the great discoverer of all things, has at  
 " last unmasked the disguised designs of this Myste-  
 " rious Age, and made that obvious to the dull sense  
 " of Fools, which was before visible enough to the  
 quick-

“ quick-sighted prudence of Wise Men, viz. that  
 “ Liberty, Religion, and Reformation, the wonted  
 “ Engines of Politicians, are but deceitful baits, by  
 “ which the easily deluded Multitude are tempted to  
 “ a greedy pursuit of their own ruin. In the unhappy  
 “ number of these Fools, I must confess myself to  
 “ have been one; who have nothing more now to  
 “ boast of, but only that, as I was not the first was  
 “ cheated, so I was not the last was undeceived;  
 “ having long since, by peeping a little (now and  
 “ then, as I had opportunity) under the Vizard of  
 “ the Impostor, got such glimpses, though but im-  
 “ perfect ones, of his ugly face, concealed under the  
 “ painted pretences of Sanctity, as made me conclude,  
 “ that the Series of Affairs, and the revolution of a  
 “ few years, would convince this blinded Generation  
 “ of their Errors; and make them affrightedly to start  
 “ from Him, as a prodigious piece of deformity,  
 “ whom they adored and revered as the beautiful  
 “ Image of a Deity. ”

“ Nor did this my expectation fail me: God, who  
 “ glories in no Attribute more than to be acknow-  
 “ ledged the Searcher of the inward parts, could no  
 “ longer endure the bold Affronts of this audacious  
 “ Hypocrite; but, to the astonishment and confusion  
 “ of all his Idolatrous worshippers, has, by the un-  
 “ searchable wisdom of his deep laid Counsels, lighted  
 “ such a Candle into the dark Dungeon of his Soul,  
 “ that there is none so blind who does not plainly  
 “ read Treachery, Tyranny, Perfidiousness, Dis-  
 “ simulation, Atheism, Hypocrisy; and all manner of  
 “ Villany, written in large Characters on his heart;

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“ nor is there any one remaining, who dares open  
“ his mouth in justification of him, for fear of incur-  
“ ring the deserved Character of being a professed  
“ Advocate for all wickedness, and a sworn Enemy  
“ to all Virtue.

“ This was no sooner brought forth, but presently  
“ I conceived hopes of being able, in a short time, to  
“ put in practice those thoughts of Loyalty to your  
“ Majesty, which had long had entertainment in my  
“ breast, but till now were forced to seek conceal-  
“ ment under a seeming conformity to the iniquity of  
“ the Times. A fit opportunity of giving birth to  
“ these designs, was happily administered by the fol-  
“ lowing occasion.

“ Great was the rage, and just the indignation of  
“ the People, when they first found the Authority  
“ of their Parliament swallowed up in the new Name  
“ of a Protector; greater was their fury, and upon  
“ better grounds, when they observed that, under  
“ the silent, modest, and flattering Title of this Pro-  
“ tector, was secretly assumed a Power more absolute,  
“ more arbitrary, more unlimited, than ever was  
“ pretended to by any King. The Pulpits strait-  
“ ways sound with Declamations, the Streets are  
“ filled with Pasquils and Libels, every one expresses  
“ a detestation of this Innovation by public Invec-  
“ tives, and all the Nation, with one accord, seems  
“ at once to be inspired with one and the same reso-  
“ lution of endeavouring valiantly to redeem that  
“ Liberty, by Arms and Force, which was Treas-  
“ cherously stolen from them by Deceit and Fraud.

“ When they had for a while exercised themselves



“ in tumultuary discourses (the first effects of Popular  
 “ discontents) at length they begin to contrive by  
 “ what means to free themselves from the yoke that  
 “ is upon them. In order hereunto, several of the  
 “ chiefest of the Malecontents enter into consultations  
 “ amongst themselves; to which they were pleased  
 “ to invite and admit Me. Being taken into their  
 “ Councils, and made privy to their Debates, I  
 “ thought it my work to acquaint myself fully with  
 “ the tempers, inclinations, dispositions, and prin-  
 “ ciples of them, which (though all meeting and  
 “ concentrating in an irreconcilable Hatred and Ani-  
 “ mosity against the Usurper) I find so various in  
 “ their ends, and so contrary in the means conducing  
 “ to those ends, that they do naturally fall under the  
 “ distinction of different Parties. Some, drunk with  
 “ Enthusiasms, and besotted with Fanatic notions,  
 “ do allow of none to have a share in Government  
 “ besides the Saints; and these are called *Christian*  
 “ *Royalists*, or *Fifth-Monarchy-Men*; others violently  
 “ opposing This, as destructive to the Liberty of the  
 “ Free-born People. strongly contend to have the  
 “ Nation governed by a continual Succession of Par-  
 “ liaments, consisting of equal Representatives; and  
 “ these style themselves *Common-Wealth-Men*. A  
 “ third Party there is, who finding, by the observa-  
 “ tion of these times, that Parliaments are better  
 “ Physic than food, seem to incline most to Mo-  
 “ narchy, if laid under such restrictions as might free  
 “ the People from the fear of Tyranny; and these  
 “ are contented to suffer under the opprobrious Name  
 “ of *Levellers*; to these did I particularly apply my

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“ self; and after some few days conference with them  
 “ in private by themselves apart, I was so happy in  
 “ my endeavours, as to prevail with some of them to  
 “ lay aside those vain and idle prejudices, grounded  
 “ rather upon passion than judgment, and return, as  
 “ their duty engaged them, to their obedience to  
 “ your Majesty. Having proceeded thus far, and  
 “ gained as many of the chief of them whom I knew  
 “ to be Leaders of the rest, as could safely be intrusted  
 “ with a business of this nature (the success whereof  
 “ does principally depend upon the secret manage-  
 “ ment of it) I thought I had nothing more now to  
 “ do, but only to confirm and establish them, as well  
 “ as I could, in their infant Allegiance, by engaging  
 “ them so far in a humble Address unto your Ma-  
 “ jesty, that they might not know how to make  
 “ either a safe or honorable Retreat.

“ I must leave it to the Ingenuity of this worthy  
 “ Gentleman, by whose hands it is conveyed, to  
 “ make answer to any such objections as may per-  
 “ haps be made by your Majesty, either as to the  
 “ matter or manner of it. This only I would put your  
 “ Majesty in mind of, that they are but young Pro-  
 “ selytes, and are to be driven *lento pede*, lest, being  
 “ urged at first too violently, they should resist the  
 “ more refractorily.”

“ As to the Quality of the Persons, I cannot say  
 “ they are either of great Families, or great Estates.  
 “ But this I am confident of, that, whether it be by  
 “ their own virtue, or by the misfortune of the times,  
 “ I will not determine, they are such who may be  
 “ more serviceable to your Majesty in this conjunc-

" ture, than those whose Names swell much bigger B O O K  
 " than Theirs with the Addition of great Titles. I XV.  
 " durst not undertake to persuade your Majesty to  
 " any thing, being ignorant by what Maxims your  
 " Counsels are governed ; but this I shall crave leave  
 " to say, that I have often observed, that a desperate  
 " game at Chefs has been recovered after the loss of  
 " the Nobility, only by playing the pawns well ;  
 " and that the Subscribers may not be of the same  
 " use to your Majesty, if well managed, I cannot  
 " despair, especially at such a time as this, when there  
 " is scarce any thing but pawns left upon the board,  
 " and those few others that are left, may justly be  
 " complained of in the words of *Tacitus, presentia &*  
 " *tua, quàm vetera, & periculosa malunt omnes.*

" I have many things more to offer unto your Ma-  
 " jesty, but fearing I have already given too bold a  
 " trouble, I shall defer the mention of them at pre-  
 " sent ; intending, as soon as I hear how your Ma-  
 " jesty resents this Overture, to wait upon your Ma-  
 " jesty in Person, and then to communicate that *viva*  
 " *voce*, which I cannot bring within the narrow com-  
 " pass of an Address of this nature. In the mean time,  
 " if our Services shall be judged useful to your Ma-  
 " jesty, I shall humbly desire some speedy course  
 " may be taken for the Advance of 2000 pound. as  
 " well for the answering the expectation of those  
 " whom I have already engaged, as for the defraying  
 " of several other necessary expenses, which do, and  
 " will every day inevitably come upon us in the pro-  
 " secution of our design.

" What more is expedient to be done by your

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“ Majesty, in order to the encouragement and satisfaction of those Gentlemen who already are, or hereafter may be, brought over to the assistance of your Majesty’s Cause and Interest, I shall commit to the care of this honorable Person; who being no stranger to the complection, and constitution of those with whom I have to deal, is able sufficiently to inform your Majesty by what ways and means they may be laid under the strongest obligations to your Majesty’s Service.

“ For my own part, as I do now aim at nothing more, than only to give your Majesty a small Essay of my zeal for, and absolute devotion to your Majesty, so I have nothing more to beg of your Majesty, but that you would be pleased to account me,

“ May it please your Majesty, &c.

The King believed that these distempers might, in some conjuncture, be of use to him; and therefore returned the general Answer that is mentioned before; and “ that he would be willing to confer with some Persons of that Party, trusted by the rest if they would come over to him;” his Majesty being then at *Bruges*: upon which that young Gentleman came over thither to him, and remained some days there concealed. He was a Person of very extraordinary parts, sharpness of Wit, readiness and volubility of Tongue, but an Anabaptist. He had been bred in the University of *Cambridge*, and afterwards in the Inns of Court; but being too young to have known the Religion, or the Government of the precedent time, and his Father having been engaged



from the beginning against the King, he had sucked in the opinions that were most prevalent, and had been a Soldier in *Cromwell's* Life-Guard of Horse, when he was thought to be most resolved to establish a Republic. But when that Mask was pulled off, he detested him with that rage, that he was of the combination with those who resolved to destroy him by what way soever; and was very intimate with *Syndercome*. He had a great confidence of the strength and power of that Party; and confessed that their demands were extravagant, and such as the King could not grant; which, after they were once engaged in blood, he doubted not they would recede from, by the credit the Wiser Men had amongst them. He returned into *England* very well satisfied with the King; and did afterwards correspond very faithfully with his professions; but left the King without any hope of other benefit from that Party, than by their increasing the faction and animosity against *Cromwell*; for it was manifest they expected a good Sum of present Money from the King; which could not be in his power to supply.

Whilst these things were transacting, the King found every day, that the *Spaniards* so much despaired of his Cause. that they had no mind to give him any Assistance with which he might make an attempt upon *England*; and that, if they had been never so well disposed, they were not able to do it: and therefore he resolved that he would not, in a Country that was so great a Scene of War, live unactive and unconcerned: so his Majesty sent to *Don Juan*, "that he would accompany him in the Field the next

The King  
sent to Don  
Juan " that  
" he would

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 " accompany him into the field," which is refused.

" Campaign, without expecting any Ceremony, or putting him to any trouble." But the *Spaniards* sent him a formal Message, and employed the Earl of *Bristol*, to excuse them from consenting, or admitting his Proposition, and to dissuade his Majesty from affecting so unreasonably exposing his Person. They said, " that they could not answer it to his Catholic Majesty, if they should permit his Majesty, when his two Brothers were already in the Army, and known to affect danger so much as they did, likewise to engage his own Royal Person; which they positively protested against." And when they afterwards saw that it was not in their power to restrain him from such Adventures, whilst he remained at *Bruges*, which was now become a Frontier by the Neighbourhood of *Mardike*, and particularly that, under pretence of visiting the Duke of *York*, who lay then at *Dunkirk* to make some attempt in the Winter upon that Fort, his Majesty having notice, what night they intended to assault it, went some days before to *Dunkirk*, and was present in that Action, and so near that many were killed about him, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, who was next to him, had his Horse killed under him: they were willing his Majesty should remove to *Brussels*; which they would never before consent to; and which was in many respects most grateful to him. And so, towards the Spring, and before the Armies were in motion, he left *Bruges*, where he had received, both from the Bishop and the Magistrates, all possible respect, there being at that time a *Spaniard*, *Mark Ogniate*, Burgo-Master, who, being born of an *English* Mother, had

The King present in the attempt upon *Mardike*.

The King leaves *Bruges*, and removes to *Brussels* in the end of Feb. 1658.

all imaginable duty for the King, and being a Man of excellent parts, and very dexterous in business, was very serviceable to his Majesty; which he ever afterwards acknowledged; and about the end of *February*, in the year by that Account 1658, he went to *Brussels*, and never after returned to *Bruges* to reside there.

His Majesty was no sooner come thither, but *Don Alonzo* renewed his advices, and importunity, that he would make a conjunction with the Levellers. He had formerly prevailed with him to admit their Agent, one *Sexby*, to confer with him; which his Majesty willingly consented to, presuming that *Sexby* might be privy to the Address that had been made to him by the same Party; which he was not, though they that sent the Address well knew of his employment to the *Spaniard*, and had no mind to trust him to the King, at least not so soon. The Man, for an illiterate Person, spoke very well, and properly; and used those words very well, the true meaning and signification whereof he could not understand. He had been, in the beginning, a Common-Soldier of *Cromwell's* Troops, and was afterwards one of those Agitators who were made use of to control the Parliament; and had so great an Interest in *Cromwell*, that he was frequently his Bed-fellow; a familiarity, he often admitted those to whom he employed in any great Trust, and with whom he could not so freely converse, as in those hours. He was very perfect in the History of *Cromwell's* dissimulations, and would describe his Artifices to the life, and did very well understand the temper of the Army, and very much

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An account  
of Sexby  
and his Ne-  
gotiation.

**BOOK** undervalue the credit, and interest of the King's Party;  
**XV.** and made such demands to the King, as if it were in his power, and his alone, to restore him; in which *Don Alonzo* concurred so totally, that, when he saw that the King would not be advised by him, he sent his Friend *Sexby* into *Spain* to conclude there; and, upon the matter, wholly withdrew himself from so much as visiting the King. And there need not be any other Character or description of the Stupidity of that *Spaniard*, than that such a Fellow, with the help of an *Irish* Priest, should be able to cozen him, and make him to cozen his Master of ten thousand Pistoles; for he received not less than that in *Flanders*, whatever else he got by his Journey to *Madrid*; which did not use to be of small expense to that Court.

Nothing that was yet to come, could be more manifest, than it was to all discerning Men, that the first design the *French* Army would undertake, when they should begin their Campaign, must be the Siege of *Dunkirk*; without taking which, *Mardike* would do them little good: besides, their Contract with *Cromwell* was no Secret; yet the *Spaniards* totally neglected making provisions to defend it; being persuaded by some Intelligence they always purchased at a great rate, to deceive themselves, that the *French* would begin the Campaign with besieging *Cambrai*. In the beginning of the year, the Marquis *de Leyde*, Governor of *Dunkirk*, and the best Officer they had, in all respects, came to *Brussels*, having sent several Expresses thither to no purpose to solicit for supplies. He told them, "that his Intelligence was infallible, that Marechal *Turenne* was ready to march,

The Marquis  
 de Leyde  
 came to  
 Brussels to  
 solicit for  
 supplies for  
 Dunkirk,  
 but in vain.



“ and that the *French* King himself would be in the  
 “ Field to countenance the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which  
 “ he could not defend, if he were not supplied with  
 “ Men, Ammunition, and Victual;” of all which he  
 stood in great need, and of neither of which he could  
 get supply; They telling him, “ that he would not  
 “ be besieged; that they were sure the *French* meant  
 to attempt *Cambrai*; which they provided the best  
 they could, and bid him be confident, “ that, if he  
 “ were attacked, they would relieve him with their  
 “ Army, and fight a Battle before he should be in  
 “ danger.” Being able to procure no other Answer,  
 he returned, and came to take his leave of the King  
 as he went out of the Town, and complained very  
 much to his Majesty of their Counsels, and deluding  
 themselves with false Intelligence. He said, “ he was  
 “ going to defend a Town without Men, without  
 “ Ammunition, and without Victual, against a very  
 “ strong and triumphant Army; that, if he could  
 “ have obtained Supplies in any reasonable degree,  
 “ he should have been able to have entertained them  
 “ some time, but in the condition he was in, he could  
 “ only lose his life there, which he was resolved to  
 “ do:” and spoke as if he were very willing to do it;  
 and was as good as his word.

Within three or four days after his return, the  
*French* Army appeared before *Dunkirk*; and then the  
*Spaniard* believed it; and made what haste they could  
 to draw their Army together, which was very much  
 dispersed, so that, before they were upon their  
 march, the *French* had perfected their Circumvalla-  
 tion, and rendered it impossible to put any Succours

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*Dunkirk*  
 besieged by  
 the *French*  
 Army.

**B O O K** into the Town. Now they found it necessary indeed  
**xv.** to hazard a Battle, which they had promised to do, when they intended nothing less. When the *Spaniards* had taken a full view of the posture the Enemy was in, and were thereupon to chuse their own ground, upon which they would be found, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who agreed in nothing else, resolved how the Army should be ranged; which the Prince of *Condé* dissuaded them from; and told them very exactly what the Marechal *Turenne* would do in that case; “and that he would “ still maintain the Siege, and give them likewise “ Battle upon the advantage of the ground; where- “ as, if they would place their Army near another “ part of the Line, they should easily have communi- “ cation with the Town, and compel the *French* to “ fight with more equal hazards.”

The Prince  
 of Condé's  
 Advice to  
 the Spani-  
 ards not  
 unarkened to.

It might very reasonably be said of the Prince of *Condé* and Marechal *Turenne*, what a good Roman Historian said heretofore of *Jugurtha* and *Marius*, that “ *in iisdem castris didicere, quæ postea in contrariis* “ *fecere*; They had in the same Armies learned that “ Discipline, and those Stratagems, which they after- “ wards practised against each other in Enemy-Ar- “ mies;” and it was a wonderful, and a pleasant thing to see and observe in Attacks or in Marches, with what foresight either of them would declare what the other would do: as the Prince of *Condé*, when the Armies marched near, and the *Spaniards* would not alter their formal lazy pace, nor their rest at noon, would in choler tell them, “ if we do not “ make great haste to possess such a Pass” (which they

never thought of) “ Marechal *Turenne* will take it, though it be much farther from him;” and would then, when they considered not what he said, advance with his own Troops to possess the place, even when the *French* were come in view; and by such seasonable foresights saved the *Spanish* Army from many distresses. And Marechal *Turenne* had the same caution, and governed himself according as the Prince of *Condé* was in the Rear or Van of the Army; and, upon the matter, only considered where He was, and ordered his Marches accordingly; of which there was a very memorable Instance two years before, when the *Spanish* Army had Besieged *Arras*, and when the Duke of *York* was present with Marechal *Turenne*. The *Spaniards* had made themselves so very strong, that when the *French* Army came thither, they found that they could not compel them to fight, and that the Town must be lost if they did not force the Line. Marechal *Turenne*, accompanied with the Duke of *York*, who would never be absent upon those occasions, and some of the principal Officers, spent two or three days in viewing the Line round, and observing and informing himself of all that was to be known, and riding so near the Line very frequently, that some of his Company were killed within much less than Musquet-shot. In the end, he called some of the principal Officers, and said, “ he would, that day at noon, assault the Line, at a place which he showed to them;” which the Officers wondered at; and said, “ it was the strongest part of the Line;” and that they had observed to him, that the whole Line on the other side was very much weaker;”

BOOK to which the Marechal replied, "you do not know  
 XV. "who keeps that Line; We shall do no good there;  
 " *Monsieur le Prince* never sleeps. and that is his  
 " Post; but I will tell you, what will fall out on the  
 " other side;" for he had himself marched in the  
*Spanish* Army, and very well understood the Customs  
 of it. He told them then, "that it would be very  
 " long, before the Soldiers upon the Line, or the  
 " adjacent Guard, would believe that the *French*  
 " were in earnest, and that they would in truth at  
 " that time of day assault them; but would think,  
 " that they meant only to give them an Alarm, which  
 " they were never warm in receiving: that when the  
 " *Spaniards* were convinced that the *French* were in  
 " earnest, in which time he should be got near their  
 " Line, they would send to the Count of *Fuenfal-*  
 " *dagna*, who at that time of day was usually asleep,  
 " and his Servants would not be persuaded to waken  
 " him in a Moment: He would then send for his  
 " Horse, and ride up to the Line; which when he  
 " saw, he would with some haste repair to the Arch-  
 " Duke's Tent; who was likewise at his *Siesta*, and  
 " when He was awake, they would consult what  
 " was to be done;" by which time, the Marechal said,  
 " They should have done:" And they did enter  
 the Line accordingly, and found by the Prisoners,  
 that every thing had fallen out as he had foretold.  
 So the Siege was raised, the *Spaniards* fled without  
 making any resistance, left their Cannon, Bag and  
 Baggage, behind them: only the Prince of *Condé*  
 was in so good order upon the first Alarm, that when  
 he heard of the confusion they were in, he drew off



with his Cannon, and lost nothing that belonged to him, and marched with all his Men to a place of safety. B O O K  
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Notwithstanding the advice which the Prince of *Condé* had given, *Don Juan* was positive in his first Resolution. The Prince, not without great indignation, consented; and drew up his Troops in the place they desired; and quickly saw all come to pass that he had foretold. The Country was most inclosed, so that the Horse could not fight but in small Bodies. The *English* Foot under *Lockhart* charged the *Spanish* Foot, and, after a good resistance, broke and routed them; after which there was not much more resistance on that side, the *Spanish* Horse doing no better than their Foot. Our King's Foot were placed by themselves upon a little rising ground, and were charged by the *French* Horse after the *Spanish* Foot were beaten. Some of them, and the greater part, marched off by the favor of the Inclosures, there not being above two hundred taken Prisoners. The Dukes of *York* and *Glocester* charged several times on Horse-back; and in the end, having gotten some Troops to go with them, charged the *English* (whom, though Enemies, they were glad to see behave themselves so well) and with great difficulty, and some blows of Musquets, got safe off. But there was a rumor spread in the *French* Army, that the Duke of *York* was taken Prisoner by the *English*, some Men undertaking to say that they saw him in their hands: whereupon many of the *French* Officers, and Gentlemen, resolved to set him at Liberty, and rode up to the Body of *English*, and looked upon all their

The Battle  
of Dunkirk.

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Prisoners, and found they were misinformed; which if they had not been, they would undoubtedly, at any hazard or danger, have enlarged him: to great an affection that Nation owned to have for his Highness.

Don Juan  
after the loss  
of the Battle  
retires to  
Ipres.

The Marquis  
de Leyde  
Sallies upon  
the Enemy;  
is repulsed,  
and slain.

The day being thus lost with a greater Rout and Confusion than loss of Men, *Don Juan*, and the Marquis of *Carracena*, who behaved themselves in their own Persons with courage enough, were contented to think better of the Prince of *Condé's* advice, by which they preserved the best part of the Army, and retired to *Ipres* and *Furnes*, and the Duke of *York* to *Newport*, that they might defend the rest when *Dunkirk* should be taken; which was the present business of *Marechal Turenne*; who found the Marquis de *Leyde* resolved to defend it, notwithstanding the defeat of the Army: and therefore he betook himself again to that work, as soon as the *Spanish* Army was retired into fastness. The Marquis de *Leyde*, when he saw there was no more hope of relief from *Don Juan*, which whilst he expected, he was wary in the hazard of his Men, was now resolved to try what he could do for himself: so with as strong a Party as he could make, he made a desperate Sally upon the Enemy; who, though he disordered them, were quickly so seconded, that they drove him back into the Town with great loss, after himself had received a wound, of which he died within three days after. And then the Officers sent to treat, which he would not consent to whilst he lived. The Marquis was a much greater loss than the Town; which the Master of the Field may be always Master of in two Months time at most. But in truth the death of  
the

the Marquis was an irreparable damage, he being a very wise Man, of great experience, great wisdom, and great piety, after his way; insomuch as he had an Intention to have taken Orders in the Church; to which he was most devoted.

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Those in the Town had fair conditions to march to St. Omers, that they might not join with the Relics of their Army. The *French King* being by this time come to the Camp with the Cardinal, entered the Town, and took possession of it himself; which as soon as he had done, he delivered it into the hands of *Lockhart*, whom *Cromwell* had made Governor of it. Thus the Treaty was performed between them; and that King went presently to *Calais*, and from thence sent the Duke of *Crequi* together with *Mancini*, Nephew to the Cardinal, to *London* to visit *Cromwell*; who likewise sent his Son in Law, the Lord *Falconbridge*, to *Calais*, to congratulate with that King for their joint prosperity. And mutual professions were then renewed between them, with new obligation, "never to make Peace without each other's consent."

The Town of  
Dunkirk  
surrendered;  
and the  
French King  
delivers it to  
the English.

When *Don Juan* had first removed from *Brussels*, and the Army marched into the Field, the King had renewed his desire that he might likewise go with them, but was refused with the same positiveness he had been before. His Majesty thereupon resolved that he would not stay alone in *Brussels*, whilst all the world was in Action; but thought of some more private place, where he might take the Summer-Air, and refresh himself during that Season. He was the more confirmed in this upon the News of the defeat

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XV.

The King  
retires to  
Hochstraten  
in Aug.

of the Army near *Dunkirk*, and the loss of that place: So he removed to a Village called *Hochstraten*; where there were very good Houses, capable to have received a greater Train than belonged to His Court. Thither the King went about the Month of *August*; the Village lying upon the skirts of the States Dominions in *Brabant*, and within five or six miles of *Breda*, sometimes he made Journies, *incognito*, to see places where he had not been before.

There a Man might have observed the great difference of the condition, which the Subjects in the States Dominions, even in the sight and view of the other, enjoy above what their Neighbours of the *Spanish Territories* are acquainted with. *Hochstraten* is an open Village, belonging to the Court of that name, and hath enjoyed very ample Privileges, the Owner thereof being one of the greatest Nobles in the Duchy of *Brabant*. It is pleasantly Seated, many very good Houses, and the Manor large of Extent, and of great Revenue. But by reason that it is always a Horse-quarter in the Winter-Season, who use great licence, it is so poor, that those good Houses have only Walls; so that the People had not Furniture to supply those Rooms which were for the accommodation of those who attended the King, though they were sure to be very well paid, and therefore used all the means they could to procure it. But there appeared poverty in the Faces and looks of the People, good Grounds without any Stock, and, in a word, nothing that looked well but the Houses, and those empty within: on the other side of a Line that is drawn (for a Man may set one Foot in the Domi-



nion that is reserved to the King of *Spain*, and the other in that which is assigned to the *Hollander*) the Houses, though not standing so thick, nor so beautiful without, clean, neat; and well furnished within; very good Linen, and some Plate in every House; the People jolly, well clothed, and with looks very well pleased; all the Grounds and Land fully stocked with all kind of Cattle, and, as if it were the Land of *Goshen*, the appearance of nothing but wealth, and fertility, encompassed with extreme barrenness, and unconceivable Poverty. And they on the *Holland*-side, that lies equally open, and undefended, can see the *Spanish* Troops exercise all Licence upon their poor Neighbours of *Hochstraten*; and yet the most dissolute among them dare not step into Their Quarters to take a Hen, or commit the least Trespass: so strictly the Articles of the Peace are observed.

Whilst the King spent his time in this manner, about the middle of *September*, the Duke of *York*, who remained still with the Troops at *Newport* to defend that place, as *Don Juan*, and the rest, remained about *Furnes* and *Bruges*, sent an express to the King to let him know, "that the Letters from *England*, and some Passengers, reported confidently "that *Cromwell* was dead;" which, there having been no News of his sickness, was not at first easily believed. But every day brought confirmation of it; so that his Majesty thought fit to give over his Country-Life, and returned again to *Brussels*, that he might be ready to make use of any advantage, which, in that conjuncture, upon so great an alteration, he might reasonably expect.

The King has notice that *Cromwell* was dead.

The King returns to *Brussels* upon it.

## BOOK

## XV.

Cromwell's  
Affairs some  
time before  
his death.

It had been observed in *England*, that, though from the dissolution of the last Parliament, all things seemed to succeed, at home and abroad, to the Protector's wish, and his power and greatness to be better established than ever it had been, yet he never had the same serenity of mind he had been used to, after he had refused the Crown; but was out of countenance, and chagrin, as if he were conscious of not having been true to himself; and much more apprehensive of danger to his Person than he had used to be. Inasmuch as he was not easy of access, nor so much seen abroad; and seemed to be in some disorder, when his Eyes found any stranger in the room; upon whom they were still fixed. When He intended to go to *Hampton-Court*, which was his principal delight and diversion, it was never known, till he was in the Coach, which way he would go; and he was still hemmed in by his Guards both before and behind; and the Coach in which he went, was always thronged as full as it could be, with his Servants; who were armed; and he seldom returned the same way he went; and rarely lodged two Nights together in one Chamber, but had many furnished and prepared, to which his own Key conveyed him and those he would have with him, when he had a mind to go to bed: which made his fears the more taken notice of, and public, because he had never been accustomed to those precautions.

It is very true, he knew of many combinations to assassinate him, by those who, he believed, wished the King no good. And a good while before this, when he had discovered the design of *Syndercome*,

who was a very stout Man, and one who had been much in his favor, and who had twice or thrice, by wonderful and unexpected Accidents, been disappointed in the minute he made sure to kill him, and had caused him to be apprehended, his behaviour was so resolute in his Examination and Trial, as if he thought he should still be able to do it; and it was manifest that he had many more Associates, who were undiscovered and as resolute as himself; and though he had got him condemned to die, the Fellow's carriage and words were such, as if he knew well how to avoid the Judgment; which made *Cromwell* believe, that a Party in the Army would attempt his rescue; whereupon he gave strict charge, "that he should be carefully looked to in the Tower, "and three or four of the Guard always with him "day and night."

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*Syndercome's*  
design against  
him a good  
while before  
this.

At the day appointed for his Execution, those Troops *Cromwell* was most confident of, were placed upon the Tower-Hill, where the Gallows were erected. But when the Guard called *Syndercome* to arise in the morning, they found him dead in his bed; which gave trouble exceedingly to *Cromwell*; for besides that he hoped, that, at his death, to avoid the utmost rigor of it, he would have confessed many of his Confederates, he now found himself under the reproach of having caused him to be poisoned, as not daring to bring him to public Justice: nor could he suppress that Scandal. It appeared upon Examination, that the night before, when he was going to bed in the presence of his Guard, his Sister came to take her leave of him; and upon her going

**B O O K** away, he put off his Clothes, and leaped into his  
**xv.** Bed, and said, "this was the last Bed he should ever  
 "go into." His Body was drawn by a Horse to the  
 Gallows where he should have hanged, and buried  
 under it, with a Stake driven through him, as is usual  
 in the Case of self-Murderers: yet this Accident  
 perplexed *Cromwell* very much; and though he was  
 without the particular discovery which he expected,  
 he made a general discovery by it, that he himself  
 was more odious in his Army than he believed he  
 had been.

The death of  
 the Earl of  
 Warwick,  
 and of the  
 Earl's  
 Grandson.

He seemed to be much afflicted at the death of his  
 friend the Earl of *Warwick*; with whom he had a fast  
 friendship; though neither their humors, nor their  
 natures, were like. And the Heir of that House, who  
 had married his youngest Daughter, died about the  
 same time; so that all his relation to, or confidence  
 in that Family was at an end; the other Branches of  
 it abhorring his Alliance. His Domestic delights were  
 lessened every day: he plainly discovered that his  
 Son *Falconbridge's* heart was set upon an Interest de-  
 structive to his, and grew to hate him perfectly. But  
 that which chiefly broke his peace, was the death of  
 his Daughter *Claypole*; who had been always his  
 greatest joy, and who, in her sickness, which was of  
 a nature the Physicians knew not how to deal with,  
 had several conferences with him, which exceedingly  
 perplexed him. Though no body was near enough  
 to hear the particulars, yet her often mentioning, in  
 the pains she endured, the blood her Father had spilt,  
 made People conclude, that she had presented his  
 worst Actions to his consideration. And though he

The Death  
 of Cromwell's  
 Daughter  
*Claypole*.



never made the least show of remorse for any of those Actions, it is very certain, that either what she said, or her death, affected him wonderfully. BOOK XV.

Whatever it was, about the middle of *August*, he was seized on by a common tertian Ague, from which, he believed, a little ease and divertisement at *Hampton-Court* would have freed him. But the fits grew stronger, and his Spirits much abated: so that he returned again to *White-Hall*, where his Physicians began to think him in danger, though the Preachers, who prayed always about him, and told God Almighty what great things he had done for him, and how much more need he had still of his Service, declared as from God, that he should recover: and he himself was of the same mind, and did not think he should die, till even the time that his Spirits failed him. Then he declared to them, "that he did appoint his Son to succeed him, his eldest Son *Richard*;" and so expired upon the third day of *September* 1658, a day he thought always very propitious to him, and on which he had twice triumphed for two of his greatest Victories. And this now was a day very memorable for the greatest Storm of Wind that had been ever known, for some hours before and after his death, with overthrew Trees, Houses, and made great Wrecks at Sea; and the tempest was so universal, that the effects of it were terrible both in *France*, and *Flanders*, where all People trembled at it; for besides the Wrecks all along the Sea-Coast, many Boats were cast away in the very Rivers; and within few days after, the circumstance of his

Cromwell  
seized on by  
an Ague in  
August:

He appoints  
his Son *Rich-  
ard* his  
Successor:  
and expires,  
Septem. 3.

The terrible  
Storm on the  
same day.

**B O O K** death, that accompanied that Storm, was univer-  
**xv.** sally known.

**His Character.** He was one of those Men. *quos vituperare ne inimici quidem possent, nisi ut simul laudent*; whom his very Enemies could not condemn without commending him at the same time: for he could never have done half that mischief without great parts of Courage, Industry, and Judgment. He must have had a wonderful understanding in the Natures and Humors of Men, and as great a dexterity in applying them; who, from a private and obscure birth (though of a good Family) without Interest or Estate, Alliance or Friendship. could raise himself to such a height, and compound and knead such opposite and contradictory tempers, humors, and interests into a consistence, that contributed to His designs, and to their own destruction; whilst himself grew insensibly powerful enough to cut off those by whom he had climbed, in the instant that they projected to demolish their own building. What was said of *Cinna* may very justly be said of him, *aufim eum, quæ nemo auderet bonus; perfecisse, quæ à nullo, nisi fortissimo perfici possent*. He attempted those things which no good Man durst have ventured on; and achieved those in which none but a valiant and great Man could have succeeded. Without doubt, no Man with more wickedness ever attempted any thing, or brought to pass what he desired more wickedly, more in the face and contempt of Religion, and moral Honesty; yet wickedness as great as his could never have accomplished those designs, without the assistance of a great Spirit, an admirable circumspection, and sagacity, and a most magnanimous resolution.

B O O K

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When he appeared first in the Parliament, he seemed to have a Person in no degree gracious, no ornament of discourse, none of those Talents which use to conciliate the Affections of the Stander by; yet as he grew into Place and Authority, his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had had concealed Faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great Man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of Custom.

After he was confirmed, and invested Protector by the humble *Petition and Advice*, he consulted with very few upon any Action of importance, nor communicated any enterprize he resolved upon, with more than those who were to have principal parts in the execution of it; nor with them sooner than was absolutely necessary. What he once resolved, in which he was not rash, he would not be dissuaded from, nor endure any contradiction of his power and authority; but extorted obedience from them who were not willing to yield it.

One time, when he had laid some very extraordinary Tax upon the City, one *Cony*, an eminent Fanatic, and one who had heretofore served him very notably, positively refused to pay his part; and loudly dissuaded others from submitting to it, “ as  
 “ an imposition notoriously against the Law, and the  
 “ Property of the Subject, which all honest Men  
 “ were bound to defend.” *Cromwell* sent for him, and cajoled him with the memory of “ the old kindness, and Friendship, that had been between them;  
 “ and that of all Men he did not expect this opposition from Him, in a matter that was so necessary

B O O K  
XV.

“ for the good of the Common-wealth.” It had been always his fortune to meet with the most rude, and obstinate behaviour from those who had formerly been absolutely governed by him; and they commonly put him in mind of some expressions and sayings of his own, in cases of the like nature: so this Man remembered him, how great an Enemy he had expressed himself to such grievances, and had declared, “ that  
“ all, who submitted to them, and paid illegal Taxes,  
“ were more to blame, and greater Enemies to their  
“ Country than they who had imposed them; and  
“ that the Tyranny of Princes could never be grievous, but by the tameness and stupidity of the  
“ People.” When *Cromwell* saw that he could not convert him, he told him, “ that he had a Will as  
“ stubborn as His, and he would try which of them  
“ two should be Master.” Thereupon, with some expressions of reproach and contempt, he committed the Man to Prison; whose courage was nothing abated by it; but as soon as the Term came, he brought his *Habeas-Corpus* in the King’s Bench, which they then called the *Upper Bench*. *Maynard*, who was of Council with the Prisoner, demanded his Liberty with great confidence, both upon the illegality of the Commitment, and the illegality of the imposition, as being laid without any lawful Authority. The Judges could not maintain or defend either, and enough declared what their Sentence would be; and therefore the Protector’s Attorney required a farther day, to answer what had been urged. Before that day, *Maynard* was committed to the Tower, for presuming to question or make doubt of his



Authority; and the Judges were sent for, and severely reprehended for suffering that Licence; when they, with all humility, mentioned the Law and *Magna Charta*, Cromwell told them, with terms of contempt, and derision, “their *Magna F*— should not control his Actions; which he knew were for the safety of the Common-wealth.” He asked them, “who made them Judges; whether they had any Authority to sit there, but what He gave them? and if his Authority were at an end, they knew well enough, what would become of themselves; and therefore advised them to be more tender of that which could only preserve them;” and so dismissed them with caution, “that they should not suffer the Lawyers to prate what it would not become Them to hear.”

Thus he subdued a Spirit that had been often troublesome to the most Sovereign Power, and made *Westminster-Hall* as obedient, and subservient to his Commands, as any of the rest of his Quarters. In all other matters, which did not concern the Life of his Jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the Law, rarely interposing between Party and Party. As he proceeded with this kind of indignation, and haughtiness, with those who were refractory, and durst contend with his greatness, so towards all who complied with his good Pleasure, and courted his Protection, he used great Civility, Generosity, and Bounty.

To reduce three Nations, which perfectly hated him, to an entire obedience to all his Dictates; to awe, and govern those Nations by an Army that was

**B O O K** indevoted to him, and wished his ruin, was an Instance of a very prodigious address. But his greatness at home, was but a shadow of the glory he had abroad. It was hard to discover, which feared him most, *France*, *Spain*, or the Low Countries, where his Friendship was current at the value he put upon it. As they did all sacrifice their Honor, and their Interest, to his Pleasure, so there is nothing he could have demanded, that either of them would have denied him. To manifest which, there needs only two Instances. The first is, when those of the Valley of *Lucern* had unwarily risen in Arms against the Duke of *Savoy*, which gave occasion to the Pope, and the Neighbour-Princes of *Italy*, to call and solicit for their extirpation, and their Prince positively resolved upon it, *Cromwell* sent his Agent to the Duke of *Savoy*, a Prince with whom he had no correspondence, or commerce, and so engaged the Cardinal, and even terrified the Pope himself, without so much as doing any Grace to the *English* Roman-Catholics (nothing being more usual than his saying, “ that “ his Ships in the *Mediterranean* should visit *Civita* “ *Vecchia*; and that the sound of his Cannon should “ be heard in *Rome* )” that the Duke of *Savoy* thought it necessary to restore all that he had taken from them, and did renew all those Privileges they had formerly enjoyed, and newly forfeited.

Two Instances of his Interest among foreign Princes.

The other Instance of his Authority was yet greater, and more incredible. In the City of *Nismes*, which is one of the fairest in the Province of *Languedoc*, and where those of the Religion do most abound, there was a great Faction at that Season when the

Consuls (who are the Chief Magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the Reformed Religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that Magistracy; which they of the Roman Religion resolved to oppose with all their Power. The dissension between them made so much noise, that the Intendant of the Province, who is the supreme Minister in all Civil Affairs throughout the whole Province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of Election came, those of the Religion possessed themselves with many Armed Men of the Town-House, where the Election was to be made. The Magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, "they were there to give their Voices for the choice of the new Consuls, and to be sure that the Election should be fairly made." The Bishop of the City, the Intendant of the Province, with all the Officers of the Church, and the present Magistrates of the Town, went together in their Robes to be present at the Election, without any suspicion that there would be any Force used. When they came near the Gate of the Town-House, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a Volly of Musket-shot upon them, by which the Dean of the Church, and two or three of the Magistrates of the Town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this Confusion, the Magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the others, till they should be better pro-

BOOK XV. vided; in order to which they sent an Express to the Court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact, "and that there appeared to be no manner of  
 " Combination with those of the Religion in other  
 " places of the Province; but that it was an infolence  
 " in those of the place, upon the presumption of  
 " their great Numbers, which were little inferior to  
 " those of the Catholics." The Court was glad of the Occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kind of severity in that City, even to the pulling down their Temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the City; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal Persons, would be a general Mortification to all of the Religion in *France*; with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the Army was forthwith ordered to march towards *Nismes*, to see this executed with the utmost rigor.

Those of the Religion in the Town, were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible Submission, to the Magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular Men, who had no order for what they did. The Magistrates answered, "that they were glad they were sensible of their Miscarriage; but they could say nothing upon the Subject, till the King's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed." The others very well knew what the King's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an Express, one *Moulins*, who had lived



many years in that place, and in *Montpelier*, to *Cromwell*, to desire his protection and interposition. The Express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that *Cromwell*, after he had received the whole Account, bade him "refresh himself after so long a Journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to *Paris* he should find it despatched;" and, that Night, sent away another Messenger to his Ambassador *Lockhart*; who, by the time *Moulins* came thither, had so far prevailed with the Cardinal, that Orders were sent to stop the Troops, which were upon their March towards *Nismes*; and, within few days after, *Moulins* returned with a full Pardon, and Amnesty from the King, under the Great-Seal of *France*, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that no body can wonder, that his Memory remains still in those parts, and with those People, in great veneration.

He would never suffer himself to be denied any thing he ever asked of the Cardinal, alledging, "that the People would not be otherwise satisfied;" which the Cardinal bore very heavily, and complained of to those with whom he would be free. One day, he visited *Madam Turenne*, and when he took his leave of her, She, according to her Custom, besought him to continue gracious to the Churches. Whereupon the Cardinal told her, "that he knew not how to behave himself; if he advised the King to punish and suppress their Insolence; *Cromwell* threatened

**B O O K** “ him to join with the *Spaniard*; and if he showed  
**XV.** “ any favor to them, at *Rome* they accounted him a  
 “ Heretic.”

The Conclu-  
 sion of his  
 Character.

To Conclude his Character, *Cromwell* was not so far a Man of blood, as to follow *Machiavel's* method; which prescribes, upon a total alteration of Government, as a thing absolutely necessary, to cut off all the heads of those, and extirpate their Families, who are Friends to the old one. It was confidently reported, that, in the Council of Officers, it was more than once proposed, “ that there might be a general Massacre of all the Royal Party, as the only expedient “ to secure the Government, but that *Cromwell* “ would never consent to it;” it may be, out of too great a contempt of his Enemies. In a word, as he was guilty of many Crimes against which Damnation is denounced. and for which Hell-fire is prepared, so he had some good Qualities which have caused the Memory of some Men in all Ages to be celebrated; and he will be looked upon by Posterity as a brave wicked Man.

END OF THE ELEVENTH VOLUME.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS  
IN  
ENGLAND,

Begun in the Year 1641.

With the precedent Passages, and Actions, that contributed thereunto, and the happy End, and Conclusion thereof by the KING's blessed RESTORATION, and RETURN upon the 29th of May, in the Year 1660.

Written by the Right Honorable

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

Late Lord High-Chancellor of *England*, Privy-Counsellor  
in the Reigns of King CHARLES the First and the Second.

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*Κλῆμα ἐς αἰῶ. Thucyd.*

*Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.*

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V O L. XII.

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M D C C X C V I I I.





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THE

History of the Rebellion , etc.

B O O K XVI.

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Zechar. 11. 4, 5, 6.

*Thus saith the Lord my God, Feed the flock of the slaughter.*

*Why ye possessors slay them, and hold themselves not guilty: and they that sell them, say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich: and their own shepherds pity them not.*

*— But lo, I will deliver the men every one into his Neighbour's hand, and into the hand of his King.*

---

**C**ONTRARY to all expectation both at home and abroad, this Earthquake was attended with no signal Alteration. It was believed that *Lambert* would be in the head of the Army, and that *Monk* in Scotland would never submit to be under him. Besides the expectation the King had from the general Affection of the Kingdom, he had fair promises from Men of Interest in it, and of Command in the Army, who professed to prepare for such a Conjunction as this; and that the disorder arising from *Cromwell's* death might dispose *Lockhart* to depend upon the best Title, seemed a reasonable expectation: but nothing of this fell out. Never Monarch, after he had inherited a Crown by

B O O K  
XVI.  
The beginning  
of Richard's  
Government

**B O O K** many descents, died in more silence, nor with less  
**XVI.** alteration; and there was the same, or a greater calm  
in the Kingdom than had been before.

The next Morning after the death of *Oliver*, *Richard* his Son is Proclaimed his Lawful Successor; the Army congratulate their new General, and renew their Vows of fidelity to him; the Navy doth the like; the City appears more unanimous for His Service, than they were for his Father's; and most Counties in *England*, by Addresses under their hands, testified their obedience to their new Sovereign without any hesitation. The dead is interred in the Sepulchre of the Kings, and with the obsequies due to such. His Son inherits all his Greatness, and all his Glory, without the public hate, that visibly attended the other. Foreign Princes addressed their Condoleances to him, and desired to renew their Alliances; and nothing was heard in *England* but the voice of Joy, and large Encomiums of their new Protector: so that the King's condition never appeared so hopeless, so desperate; for a more favorable Conjunction his Friends could never expect than this, which now seemed to blast all their hopes, and confirm their utmost despair.

It is probable that this Melancholic prospect might have continued long, if this Child of Fortune could have sat still, and been contented to have enjoyed his own felicity. But his Council thought it necessary that he should call a Parliament, to confirm what they had already given him, and to dispel all Clouds which might arise. And there seemed to be the more reason for it, because the last Alliance which *Oliver* had made

with the Crown of *Sweden*, and of which he was fonder than of all the rest, did oblige him in the Spring to send a strong Fleet into the *Sound*, to assist that King against *Denmark*; at least to induce *Denmark*, by way of mediation, to accept of such conditions as the other would be willing to give him. This could hardly be done without some assistance of Parliament; and therefore the new Protector sent out his Writs to call a Parliament, to meet together on the twenty-seventh day of *January*; till which day, for near five Months, he remained as great a Prince as ever his Father had been. He followed the Model that was left him; and sent out his Writs to call those as Peers who had constituted the other House in the former Parliament; and so both Lords and Commons met at the day assigned.

B O O K  
XVI.

He calls a  
Parliament  
to meet Jan.  
27. 1659.

It meets on  
that day.

*Richard* came to the Parliament in the same State that *Oliver* his Father had done; and sent the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-Rod to the Commons, that they should attend him in the other House; where, first by himself, and then by the Keeper of his Great-Seal, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, he recommended to them the prosecution of the War with *Spain*, and the assistance of the King of *Sweden* in the *Sound*. He had so good fortune at the beginning, that all the Commons signed an *Engagement* not to alter the present Government. But they were no sooner inclosed within those Walls, than there appeared the old Republican Spirit, though more wary than it had used to be. It begun with inquiring into the Accounts, how the Money had been spent, and into the Offices of Excise and Customs, and what was become of all that Revenue. When they were called upon to settle the Act of Recogni-

The business  
recommended  
to them by  
the Protector.

Differences rise  
in the House  
of Commons  
about the  
Accounts of  
Money, and a-  
bout the other  
House, &c.

**B O O K** tion, to confirm *Richard*, and his Authority in the  
**XVI.** State, they would first inform themselves of their own  
 Authority, and how far the Government was already  
 settled, and what part was fit to be assigned to the  
 other House; which they would by no means allow  
 to be a part of the Government already established,  
 which they had promised not to alter. Upon this Ar-  
 gument they exercised themselves with great Licence,  
 as well upon the Creator of those Peers, and the power  
 of the late Protector, as upon his Creatures the Peers;  
 of whose dignity they were not tender, but handled  
 them according to the Quality they had been of, not  
 that which they were now grown to. They put the  
 House in mind, "how grievous it had been to the  
 " Kingdom, that the Bishops had sat in the House of  
 " Peers, because they were looked upon as so many  
 " Votes for the King; which was a reason much  
 " stronger against these Persons; who were all the  
 " work of the Protector's own hand, and therefore  
 " could not but be entirely addicted and devoted to  
 " his Interest." They concluded, "that they could  
 " not, with good Consciences, and without the guilt  
 " of Perjury, ever consent, that that other House  
 " should have any part in the Government, since they  
 " had all taken the Engagement, that there should be  
 " no more any House of Peers, and since the Office  
 " of Protector had been, and might still continue  
 " without it."

Notwithstanding all this confidence, which dis-  
 turbed the Method intended to be proceeded in, this  
 violent Party could not prevail, but it was carried by  
 the A Major part of the House, "that they would meet,



“ and confer with the other House, as a part of the BOOK  
 “ Parliament, during this present Parliament; and XVI.  
 “ likewise, that such other Persons, as had a right to It was carried,  
 “ come to that other House, and had not forfeited it that the other  
 “ by their breach of Trust” (by which they meant House should  
 those Lords who had been always against the King) be allowed.  
 “ should not be restrained from coming thither:” yet  
 the Temper of the House of Commons could hardly  
 be judged by all this. Some things were done, which  
 looked like condescension to the Royal Party; but  
 more for the countenance of the *Presbyterians*; and  
 whatsoever contradicted those who were for a Re-  
 public, was looked upon as favorable to the Protector.

The stirring these several humors, and the drowsy A new Council  
 temper of *Richard*, raised another Spirit in the Army. of Officers met,  
 A new Council of Officers met together by their own who consult  
 Authority, and admitted *Lambert*, though no Member about the  
 of the Army, to consult with them; they neither Government.  
 liked Protector, nor Parliament, but consulted what  
 Government to settle, that might be better than  
 either: yet they would not incense them both together,  
 nor appear to have any disinclination to *Richard*, who  
 had many of his nearest Friends amongst them. They Their Address  
 therefore prepared an Address to him; in which they to Richard  
 complained of, “ the great Arrears of pay that were Apr. 6. 1659.  
 “ due to the Army, by which they were in great  
 “ Straits: that they, who had borne the brunt of the  
 “ War, and undergone all the difficulties and dangers  
 “ of it, were now undervalued, derided, and laid  
 “ aside: that the good old Cause was ill spoken of,  
 “ and traduced by Malignants and disaffected Per-  
 “ sons; who grew every day more insolent, and their

B O O K “ Numbers increased, by the resort out of *Flanders*,  
 XVI. “ and other places; and they had several secret  
 “ meetings in the City of *London*: that the Names of  
 “ all those who had sat upon the late King as his  
 “ Judges . were lately Printed, and scattered abroad,  
 “ as if they were designed to destruction; and that  
 “ many Suits were commenced at Common - Law  
 “ against honest Men, for what they had transacted  
 “ in the War as Soldiers: that those famous Acts,  
 “ which had been performed in the long Parliament,  
 “ and by the late Protector, were censured, railed at,  
 “ and vilified.” By all which, they said, “ it was very  
 “ manifest, that the good old Cause was declined;  
 “ which they were resolved to assert. And therefore  
 “ they besought his Highness to represent those their  
 “ Complaints to the Parliament, and to require pro-  
 “ per and speedy Remedies.”

The City-Mi-  
 litia second  
 them.

This Address was delivered from the Army by  
*Fleetwood* to *Richard*, on *April 6<sup>th</sup>. 1659*; which was  
 no sooner known, than *Titchburn*, and *Ireton*, two  
 Aldermen of *London*, and principal Commanders of  
 that Militia, drew up likewise a Remonstrance, and  
 sent it to the Council of Officers; in which they de-  
 clared their Resolutions with the Army to stick to the  
 good old Cause, and that they were resolved to ac-  
 company them, in whatsoever they should do for what  
 they called the Nation's good.

Votes of the  
 Parliament  
 upon it.

The Parliament was quickly alarmed with these  
 Cabals of the Army, and the City; which *Richard*  
 was as much terrified with, as They. In order to the  
 suppression thereof, the Parliament voted, “ that there  
 “ should be no meeting, or general Council of

“ Officers, without the Protector’s consent, and by his  
 “ Order: and, that no Person should have Commands  
 “ by Sea or Land, in either of the three Nations, who  
 “ did not immediately subscribe, that he would not  
 “ disturb the free meeting of Parliaments, or of any  
 “ Members in either House of Parliament; nor ob-  
 “ struct their freedom in Debates and Counsels.”  
 Those Votes, or to this effect, were sent to *Richard*,  
 and by Him presently to *Wallingford* House, where  
 the Council of Officers then sat.

B O O K  
 XVI.

These Officers were Men who resolved to execute  
 as well as order; they knew well that they were gone  
 much too far, if they went no farther: and therefore  
 they no sooner received these Votes, but they sent  
*Fleetwood* and *Desborough* to *Richard* (the first had  
 married his Sister; the other was his Uncle; both  
 raised by *Cromwell*) to advise him forthwith to dissolve  
 the Parliament. They were two upon whose Affec-  
 tion, in regard of the nearness of their Alliance, and  
 their obligation to, and dependance upon his Father,  
 he had as much reason to be confident, as on any  
 Men’s in the Nation. *Fleetwood* used no Arguments  
 but of Conscience, “ to prevent the Nation’s being  
 “ engaged in blood;” which, he said, “ would inevit-  
 “ ably fall out, if the Parliament were not presently  
 “ dissolved.” *Desborough* a Fellow of a rough and  
 rude temper, treated him only with threats, and  
 menaces; told him, “ it was impossible for him to  
 “ keep both the Parliament, and the Army, his  
 “ Friends;” wished him, “ to chuse which he would  
 “ prefer: if he dissolved the Parliament out of hand,  
 “ he had the Army at his Devotion; if he refused that,

The Officers  
 advise him to  
 dissolve the  
 Parliament.

BOOK  
XVI.

"he believed the Army would quickly pull him out  
"of *White-Hall*."

Advice to  
Richard to  
the contrary.

The poor Man had not Spirit enough to discern what was best for him; and yet he was not without Friends to Counsel him, if he had been capable to receive Counsel. Besides many Members of the Parliament, of Courage and Interest, who repaired to him with assurance, "that the Parliament would continue firm to him, and destroy the Ringleaders of this seditious Crew, if he would adhere to the Parliament; but if he were prevailed upon to dissolve it, he would be left without a Friend; and They who had compelled him to do so imprudent an Action, would condemn him when he had done it:"

And of some  
Officers of the  
Army.

some Officers of the Army likewise, of equal Courage and Interest with any of the rest, persuaded him "to reject the desire of those who called themselves the Council of the Army, and to think of punishing their presumption." *Ingoldfby*, *Whaley*, and *Gosse*, three Colonels of the Army, and, the two former, Men of signal Courage, offered to stand by him; and one of them offered to kill *Lambert* (whom they looked upon as the Author of this Conspiracy) if he would give him a Warrant to that purpose.

He is pre-  
vailed with to  
dissolve the  
Parliament.

*Richard* continued irresolute, now inclined one way, then another. But in the end, *Desborough* and his Companions prevailed with him, before they parted, to sign a Commission, which they had caused to be prepared, to *Nathaniel Fiennes*, his Keeper of the Seal, to dissolve the Parliament the next Morning; of which the Parliament having notice, they resolved not to go up. So that when *Fiennes* sent for them to



the other House, the Commons shut the door of their House, and would not suffer the Gentleman-Usher of the Black-rod to come in, but adjourned themselves for three days, till the five-and-twentieth of *April*, imagining that they should by that time convert the Protector from destroying himself. But the poor Creature was so hared by the Council of Officers, that he presently caused a Proclamation to be issued out, by which he did declare the Parliament to be dissolved. And from that minute no body resorted to him, nor was the name of the Protector afterwards heard of but in derision; the Council of Officers appointing Guards to attend at *Westminster*, which kept out those Members, who, in pursuance of their Adjournment, would have entered into the House upon the day appointed. Thus, by extreme pusillanimity, the Son suffered himself to be stripped, in one moment, of all the greatness, and power, which the Father had acquired in so many years, with wonderful courage, industry, and resolution.

When the Council of Officers had, with this strange Success, having no Authority but what they gave one another, rid themselves of a Superior; or, as the Phrase then was, removed the *single Person*, they knew that they could not long hold the Government in their own hands, if, before any thing else, they did not remove *Ingoldby*, *Whaley*, *Goffe*, and those other Officers, who had dissuaded *Richard* from submitting to their Advice, from having any Command in the Army; which they therefore did; and replaced *Lambert*, and all the rest who had been cashiered by *Oliver*, into their own Charges again. So that the Army was

B O O K

XVI.

He issues out  
a Proclamation  
to that  
purpose;  
whereupon his  
Protectorship  
was at an end

The Council  
of Officers  
restore *Lam-  
bert*, &c.

## BOOK

## XVI.

to the Army,  
and remove  
many of Crom-  
well's Friends.  
They issue a  
Declaration  
to restore the  
long Parlia-  
ment, May 6.

become Republican to their wish; and that the Government might return to be purely such, they published a Declaration upon the sixth of *May*, wherein, after a large preamble in commendation of the good Old Cause, and accusing themselves, "for having been instrumental in declining from it; whence all the ills, the Commonwealth had sustained, had proceeded, and the vindication whereof they were resolved to pursue for the future;" they remembered, that the long Parliament, consisting of those Members who had continued to sit till the twentieth of *April 1653*" (which was the day that *Cromwell*, with the Assistance of these very Officers, had pulled them out of the House, and dismissed them) "had been eminent Assertors of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in that work. They said, that, the desires of many good People concurring with them, they did, by that Declaration, according to their duty, invite those Members to return to the discharge of their Trust, as they had done before that day;" and promised, "that they would be ready, in their places, to yield them their utmost Assistance, that they might sit, and consult in safety, for the settling and securing the Peace and Quiet of the Commonwealth, for which they had now so good an opportunity." And this Declaration, within very few days, they seconded with what they called *The Humble Petition and Address of the Officers of the Army to the Parliament*; which contained several advices, or rather positive directions how they were to Govern.

This restoring the Rump-Parliament was the only

way in which they could most agree, though it was not suitable to what some of them desired: They well foresaw, that they might give an opportunity to more People to come together than would be for their benefit; for that all the surviving Members of that Parliament would pretend a Title to sit there: and therefore, they did not only carefully limit the Convention to such Members who had continued to sit from *January 1648 to April 1653*, but caused a Guard likewise to attend to hinder, and keep the other Members from entering into the House. When *Lenthall*, the old Speaker, with forty or fifty of those old Members specified in the Declaration, took their places in the House, and some of the old excluded Members likewise got in, and entered into Debate with them upon the matters proposed, the House was adjourned till the next day: and then better care was taken, by appointing such Persons, who well knew all the Members, to inform the Guards, who were, and who were Not, to go into the House. By this means that Cabal only was suffered to enter which had first formed the Common-wealth, and fostered it for near five years after it was born. So that the return of the Government into these Men's hands again, seemed to be the most dismal change that could happen, and to pull up all the hopes of the King by the roots.

We must, for the better observation, and distinction of the several Changes in the Government, call this Congregation of Men, who were now repossessed of it, by the Style they called themselves, the Parliament; how far soever they were from being one. They resolved in the first place to vindicate, and establish their

B O O K  
XVI.

Some of the  
old, Excluded  
Members  
went into the  
House with  
them, but  
were excluded  
again.

## BOOK

## XVI.

The Parliament sent to Richard to know whether he acquiesced, and submitted to their Authority.

own Authority; which they could not think to be firm, whilst there was still a Protector, or the Name of a Protector in being, and residing in *White-Hall*. They appointed therefore a Committee to go to *Richard Cromwell*, and, that he might have hope they would be his good Masters, first to inquire into the State of his Debts, and then to demand of him, whether He acquiesced in the present Government? He, already humbled to that poverty of Spirit they could wish, gave the Committee a paper, "in which, he said, was" contained the State of his Debts, and how contracted;" which amounted to twenty-nine thousand six hundred and forty pounds.

To the other Question, his Answer was likewise in Writing; "that He trusted, his carriage and behaviour had manifested his Acquiescence in the Will" and good Pleasure of God, and that he loved and valued the Peace of the Commonwealth much above his private concernment; desiring by this, "that a measure of his future comportment might be taken; which, by the blessing of God, should be such as should bear the same Witness; he having, he hoped, in some degree learned rather to reverence and submit to the hand of God, than be unquiet under it: that, as to the late Providence that had fallen out, however, in respect to the particular Engagement that lay upon him, he could not be active in making a Change in the Government of the Nations, yet, through the goodness of God, he could freely acquiesce in it being made; and did hold himself obliged, as with other men he might expect Protection from the present Government,



so to demean himself with all peaceableness under it, and to procure, to the uttermost of his power, that all in whom he had Interest should do the same."

This satisfied them as to *Richard*; but they were not without apprehension that they should find a more refractory Spirit in his Brother *Harry*, who was Lieutenant of *Ireland*, and looked upon as a Man of another Air and Temper. He had in his Exercise of that Government, by the frankness of his Humor, and a general Civility towards all, and very particularly obliging some, rendered himself Gracious and Popular to all sorts of People, and might have been able to have made some Contests with the Parliament. But as soon as he received an Order from them to attend them in Person he thought not fit to be Wiser than his elder Brother, and came over to them even sooner than they expected, and laid his Commission at their Feet; which they accepted, and put the Government of that Kingdom into the hands of *Ludlow*, and four other Commissioners.

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Henry  
Cromwell  
likewise sub-  
mits, and re-  
signs his  
Commission of  
Lieutenant of  
Ireland.  
The Parlia-  
ment makes  
*Ludlow*, and  
four other  
Commis-  
sioners,  
Governors of  
Ireland.

It may not prove ingrateful to the Reader, in this place, to entertain him with a very pleasant story, that related to this miserable *Richard*, though it happened long afterwards; because there will be scarce again any occasion so much as to mention him, during the continuance of this Relation. Shortly after the King's Return, and the manifest Joy that possessed the whole Kingdom thereupon, this poor Creature found it necessary to Transport himself into *France*, more for fear of his Debts than of the King; who thought it not necessary to inquire after a Man so long forgotten. After he had lived some years in *Paris* untaken notice of,

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and indeed unknown, living in a most obscure condition and disguise, not owning his own Name, nor having above one Servant to attend him, he thought it necessary, upon the first rumor and apprehension that there was like to be a War between *England* and *France*, to quit that Kingdom, and to remove to some place that would be Neutral to either Party; and pitched upon *Geneva*. Making his way thither by *Bourdeaux*, and through the Province of *Languedoc*, he passed through *Pezenas*, a very pleasant Town belonging to the Prince of *Conti*, who hath a fair Palace there, and, being then Governor of *Languedoc*, made his Residence in it.

In this place *Richard* made some stay, and walking abroad to entertain himself with the view of the Situation, and of many things worth the seeing, he met with a Person who well knew him, and was well known by him, the other having always been of his Father's, and of His Party; so that they were glad enough to find themselves together. The other told him, "that all Strangers who came to that Town, used  
" to wait upon the Prince of *Conti*, the Governor of  
" the Province; who expected it, and always treated  
" Strangers, and particularly the *English*, with much  
" Civility: that he need not be known, but that he  
" himself would first go to the Prince and inform  
" him, that another *English* Gentleman was passing  
" through that Town towards *Italy*, who would be  
" glad to have the honor to kiss his hands." The Prince received him with great Civility and Grace, according to his Natural custom, and, after few words, begun to discourse of the Affairs of *England*, and asked

many questions concerning the King, and whether all Men were quiet, and submitted obediently to him; which the other answered briefly, according to the truth. "Well, said the Prince," "*Oliver*, though he " was a Traytor and a Villain, was a brave Fellow, " had great Parts, great Courage, and was worthy to " Command; but that *Richard*, that Coxcomb, *Coquin*, " *Poltron*, was surely the basest Fellow alive; What " is become of that Fool? How was it possible he " could be such a Sot? He answered, that he was betrayed by those whom he most trusted, and who " had been most obliged by his Father;" so being weary of his Visit, quickly took his leave, and the next morning left the Town, out of fear that the Prince might know that He was the very Fool and Coxcomb he had mentioned so kindly. And within two days after, the Prince did come to know who it was whom he had treated so well, and whom before, by his behaviour, he had believed to be a Man not very glad of the King's Restoration.

*Monk* from *Scotland* presented his Obedience to the Parliament, and the assurance of the Fidelity of the Army under his Command, to all their determinations. The Navy Congratulated their Return to the Sovereign Power, and tendered their Submission. The Ambassadors who were in the Town, quickly received new Credentials, and then had Audience from them, as their good Allies, making all the Professions to them, which they had formerly done to *Oliver* and *Richard*. The Parliament continued *Lockhart* as their Ambassador in *France*, as a Man who could best cajole the Cardinal, and knew well the

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Monk from  
Scotland  
declares his  
obedience to  
them.

So does the  
Navy.

They continued  
Lockhart  
Ambassador  
in France.

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They find  
Ambassadors  
to mediate  
Peace between  
the two Nor-  
thern Crowns.

They pass an  
Act of Indem-  
nity to the  
Army.

They appoint  
all Commis-  
sions Military  
to be signed by  
the Speaker.

Intrigues of that Court. They sent Ambassadors to the *Sound*, to mediate a Peace between those two Crowns, being resolved to decline all Occasions of expense abroad, that they might the better settle their Government at home. To that purpose, they were willing to put an end to the War with *Spain*, without parting with any thing that had been taken from it, which would not consist with their Honor. That they might thoroughly unite their Friends of the Army to them, they passed an Act of Indemnity to pardon all their former Transgressions, and Tergiversations, which had been the cause of the Parliament's former dissolution and of all the Mischief which had followed.

Now there appeared as great a Calm as ever, and their Government well settled, to the general content of the People of their Party, who testified the same by their Acclamations, and likewise by particular Addresses. And that they might be sure to be liable to no more Affronts, they would no more make a General, which might again introduce a single Person; the thought of which, or of any thing that might contribute towards it, they most heartily abhorred. And to make That impossible. as they thought, they appointed "the Speaker to execute the Office of General, " in such manner as they should direct; and that all " Commissions should be granted by him, and sealed " with their own Seal; all the Seals used by the *Crom-* " *wells* being broken." And accordingly all the Officers of the Army, and Navy (for the Speaker was Admiral as well as General) delivered up their Commissions, and took new Ones in the form that was prescribed. So that now they saw not how their Empire could be shaken.

But



But these Men had not sat long in their old places, when they called to mind how they had been used after they had been deposed, the reproaches, and the contempt they underwent from all kind of People; but above all, the scoffs and derision they suffered from the King's Party, when they saw them reduced to the same level in Power and Authority with themselves. And though the smart they felt from others, vexed and angered them as much, yet they were content to suspend their revenge towards Them, that they might with less control exercise their Tyranny over the poor broken Cavaliers. So they made a present Order, "to banish all who had ever manifested any Affection to the King, or his Father, twenty Miles from *London*;" and revived all those Orders they had formerly made, and which *Cromwell* had abolished or forborne to execute; by which many Persons were committed to Prisons for offences they thought had been forgotten. And the consequence of these proceedings awakened those of another Class, to apprehensions of what They might be made liable to. The Soldiers were very merry at their new General, and thought it necessary he should march with them upon the next Adventure; and the Officers thought they had deserved more than an Act of Indemnity, for restoring them to such a Sovereignty. In a word, as the Parliament remembered how They had been used, so all other People remembered how they had used Them, and could not bring themselves to look with reverence upon those, whom, for above four years together, they had derided and contemned.

This universal temper raised the Spirits again of the  
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They banish  
all Cavaliers  
20 miles from  
*London*.

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The King's  
Parliament  
to move.

King's Friends, who found very many of those who had heretofore served the Parliament, and been afterwards disoblighd both by *Cromwell*, and the Rump-Parliament, very desirous to enter into Amity with them and to make a firm conjunction with them towards the King's Re-establisment. Those Members of the long Parliament, who, after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*, were by violence kept from the House, took it in great indignation, that They, upon whom the said violence was practis'd afterward, which they had first countenanced upon them should not restore them being now restored themselves, and were ready to embrace any occasion to disturb their new Governors; to which they were the more encouraged by the common discourse of the Soldiers; who declared, "that, if there were any commotion in the Kingdom, they would go no farther to suppress it, than *Lenthal* should lead them."

Mr *Mordaunt*, who had so lately his head upon the Block, was more active than any Man; and was so well trusted by Men of all conditions, upon the Courage of his former behaviour, that he had in truth very full engagements from very good Men in most Quarters of the Kingdom, "that if the King would assign them a day, and promise to come to them after they were embodied, they would not fail to appear at the day." Whereupon, Mr. *Mordaunt* ventured himself to come in disguise to the King to *Brussels*. to give him a clear Account how his business stood, and what probability there was of success, and likewise to complain of the want of forwardness in some of those upon whom the King most relied, to

Mr. Mordaunt  
comes to Brussels  
to acquaint  
the King  
with the pre-  
parations.

encourage other Men, and to desire that his Majesty would, by Him, require them to concur with the rest. It appeared, by the Account he gave, that there were very few Counties in *England*, where there was not a formed Undertaking by the most powerful Men of that County, to possess themselves of some considerable place in it; and if any of them succeeded, the opportunity would be fairer for the King to venture his own Person, than he yet had had, or than he was like to have, if he suffered those who were now in the Government, to be settled in it.

That which was best digested, and, in respect of the Undertakers, most like to succeed, was, first the surprisal and possessing of *Lynne*, a Maritime Town, of great importance in respect of the Situation, and likewise of the good Affection of the Gentlemen of the Parts adjacent. This was undertaken by the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, with the consent and Approbation of *Sir Horatio Townsend*: who, being a Gentleman of the greatest Interest, and Credit, in that large County of *Norfolk*, was able to bring in a good Body of Men to possess it. The former had served the Parliament, and was in great credit with the Presbyterians, and so less liable to suspicion; the latter had been under Age till long after the end of the War, and so liable to no reproach or jealousy, yet of very worthy Principles, and of a noble Fortune; which he engaged very frankly, to borrow Money; and laid it out to provide Arms and Ammunition; and all the King's Friends in those parts, were ready to obey those Persons in whatsoever they undertook.

Another Design, which was looked upon as ripe

And a design upon Gloucester

**BOOK** too, was the surprisal of *Glocester*, a Town very  
**XVI.** advantageously Situated upon the River of *Severn*  
 by *Massey*. that would have great influence upon *Bristol* and  
*Worcester*; both which, Persons of the best Interest  
 undertook to secure, as soon as *Glocester* should be  
 possessed; which Major General *Massey*, who had  
 been formerly Governor thereof, and defended it too  
 well against the King, made no question he should be  
 able to do, having been in the Town *incognito*, and  
 conferred with his Friends there, and lain concealed  
 in the adjacent places, till the day should be appointed  
 for the Execution of it; of all which he sent the King  
 an Account; nor did there appear much difficulty  
 in the point, there being no Garrison in either of  
 the places.

The Gentle-  
 men of Shrop-  
 shire ready.

Sir G. Booth  
 undertakes  
 Chester.

Sir Thomas  
 Middleton to  
 join with him.

In the West,  
 designs upon  
 Plymouth  
 and Exeter.

The Lord *Newport*, *Lyttleton*, and other Gentlemen  
 of *Shropshire*, were ready at the same time to secure  
*Shrewsbury*; and for the making that Communication  
 perfect, Sir *George Booth*, a Person of one of the best  
 Fortunes and Interest in *Cheeshire*, and, for the Me-  
 mory of his Grandfather, of absolute power with the  
 Presbyterians, promised to possess himself of the City  
 and Castle of *Chester*. And Sir *Thomas Middleton*,  
 who had likewise served the Parliament, and was one  
 of the best Fortune and Interest in *North-Wales*, was  
 ready to join with Sir *George Booth*; and both of them  
 to unite entirely with the King's Party in those  
 Counties. In the West, *Arundel*, *Pollard*, *Greenvil*,  
*Trelawny*, and the rest of the King's Friends in *Corn-*  
*wal*, and *Devonshire*, hoped to possess *Plymouth*, but  
 were sure of *Exeter*. Other Undertakings there  
 were in the North, by Men very ready to venture  
 all they had.



When the King received this Account in gross from a Person so well instructed, whereof he had by retail received much from the Persons concerned (for it was another circumstance of the looseness of the present Government, that Messengers went forward and backward with all security) and likewise found by Mr. *Mordaunt*, that all things were now gone so far that there was no retreat, and therefore that the resolution was general, "that, though any discovery should be made, and any Persons imprisoned, the rest would proceed as soon as the day should be appointed by the King," his Majesty resolved that he would adventure his own Person, and would be ready *incognito* at *Calais* upon such a day of the Month; and that his Brother the Duke of *York* should be likewise there, or very near, to the end that from thence, upon the Intelligence of the success of that day, which was likewise then appointed, they might dispose themselves, one to one place, and the other to another.

There happened at this time the discovery of a vile Treachery which had done the King's Affairs much harm; and had it been longer concealed, would have done much more. From the death of *Oliver*, some of those who were in the secretest part of his Affairs, discerned evidently, that their new Protector would never be able to bear the burden; and so thought how they might do such service to the King, as might merit from him. One who had a part in the Office of Secrecy, Mr. *Moreland*, sent an Express to the King, to inform him of many particulars of Moment, and to give him some advices, what his Majesty was to

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A discovery  
of the Treachery of Sir  
Richard  
Willis.

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do; which was reasonable and prudent to be done. He sent him word what Persons might be induced to serve him, and what way he was to take to induce them to it, and what other Persons would never do it, what professions soever they might make. He made offer of his Service to his Majesty, and constantly to advertise him of whatsoever was necessary for him to know; and, as an instance of his fidelity, and his usefulness, he advertised the King of a Person who was much trusted by his Majesty, and constantly betrayed him; "that he had received a large Pension from "*Cromwell*, and that he continually gave *Thurlow* " Intelligence of all that he knew; but that it was " with so great circumspection, that he was never " seen in his presence: that in his contract he had " promised to make such discoveries, as should prevent any danger to the State; but that he would " never endanger any Man's life, nor be produced to " give in Evidence against any: and that this very " Person had discovered the Marquis of *Ormond's* " being in *London* the last year, to *Cromwell*; but " could not be induced to discover where his Lodging was; only undertook his Journey should be ineffectual, and that he should quickly return; and " then they might take him if they could; to which " he would not contribute." To conclude, his Majesty was desired to trust this Man no more, and to give his Friends notice of it for their caution and indemnity.

The King at  
first believed  
him.

The King, and They who were most trusted by him in his secret Transactions, believed not this information; but concluded that it was contrived to amuse

him, and to distract all his Affairs by a jealousy of those who were intrusted in the conduct of them. B O O K  
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The Gentleman accused, was Sir *Richard Willis*; who had from the beginning to the end of the War, except at *Newark*, given testimony of his Duty and Allegiance, and was universally thought to be superior to all temptations of infidelity. He was a Gentleman, and was very well bred, and of very good parts a courage eminently known, and a very good Officer, and in truth of so general a good reputation, that, if the King had professed to have any doubt of his honesty, his Friends would have thought he had received ill insinuations without any ground; and he had given a very late testimony of his sincerity by concealing the Marquis of *Ormond*, who had Communicated more with Him, than with any Man in *England*, during his being there. On the other side, all the other informations, and advices, that were sent by the Person who accused him, were very important, and could have no end but his Majesty's Service; and the Offices that Gentleman offered to perform for the future, were of that consequence, that they could not be overvalued. This Intelligence could not be sent with a hope of getting Money; for the present condition of him who sent it, was so good, that he expected no reward, till the King should be enabled to give it; and he who was sent in the Errand, was likewise a Gentleman, who did not look for the Charges of his Journey: and how could it have been known to *Cromwell*, that that Person had been trusted by the Marquis of *Ormond*, if he had not discovered it himself?

the Character  
of the Person  
accused.

In this perplexity, his Majesty would not presently

**B O O K** depart from his confidence in the Gentleman accused.

**XVI.** As to all other particulars, he confessed himself much satisfied in the information he had received; acknowledged the great service; and made all those promises which were necessary in such a Case; only frankly declared, "that nothing could convince him of the  
" infidelity of that Gentleman, or make him withdraw  
" his trust from him: but the Evidence of his hand-  
" writing; which was well known." This Messenger no sooner returned to *London*, but another was despatched with all that manifestation of the truth of what had been before informed, that there remained no more room to doubt. A great Number of his Letters were sent, whereof the Character was well known; and the Intelligence communicated, was of such things as were known to very few besides that Person himself.

The accuser  
clearly proves  
the thing by  
Letters, &c.

One thing was observed throughout the whole, that he seldom communicated any thing in which there was a necessity to name any Man who was of the King's Party, and had been always so reputed. But what was undertaken by any of the Presbyterian Party, or by any who had been against the King, was poured out to the life. Amongst those, he gave information of *Messy's* design upon *Glocester*, and of his being concealed in some place near the same. If at any time he named any who had been of the King's Party, it was, chiefly of them who were satisfied with what they had done, how little soever, and resolved to adventure no more. Whereupon very many were imprisoned in several places, and great noise of want of secrecy, or treachery in the King's Councils; which reproach fell upon those who were about the Person of the King.



It was a new perplexity to the King, that he knew not by what means to Communicate this Treachery to his Friends, lest the discovery of it might likewise come to light; which must ruin a Person of merit, and disappoint his Majesty of that Service, which must be of great moment. In this conjuncture, Mr. *Mordaunt* came to *Brussels*, and informed his Majesty of all those particulars relating to the posture his Friends were in, which are mentioned before; and amongst the other Orders he desired, one was, that some Message might be sent to that knot of Men (whereof the accused Person was one) "who, he said, were principally trusted by his Majesty, and were all Men of honor, but so wary and incredulous, that others were more discouraged by their coldness;" and therefore wished, "that they might be quickened, and required to concur with the most forward." Hereupon the King asked him what he thought of such a one, naming Sir *Richard Willis*; Mr. *Mordaunt* answered, "it was of Him they complained principally; who, they thought, was the cause of all the wariness in the rest; who looked upon him not only as an excellent Officer, but as a prudent and discreet Man; and therefore, for the most part, all debates were referred to him; and he was so much given to objections, and to raising difficulties, and making things unpracticable, that most Men had an unwillingness to make any proposition to him." The King asked him, "whether he had any suspicion of his want of honesty?" the other answered, "that he was so far from any such suspicion, that, though he did not take him to be his Friend, by reason of

B O O K    “ the many disputes and contradictions frequently  
 XVI.       “ between them, he would put his life into his hand  
               “ to morrow.”

The King  
 communicates  
 the discovery  
 to Mr.  
 Mordaunt.

It was not thought reasonable, that Mr *Mordaunt* should return into *England* with a confidence in this Man; and therefore his Majesty freely told him all he knew, but not the way by which he knew it, or that he had his very Letters in his own hand, which would quickly have discovered how he came by them; and the King charged him “ no farther to Com-  
 “ municate with that Person, and to give his Friends  
 “ such caution, as might not give a greater disturb-  
 “ ance to his Affairs, by raising new Factions amongst  
 “ them, or provoke him to do more mischief, which  
 “ it was in his power to do.” But for all this there was another Expedient found; for by the time Mr. *Mordaunt* returned to *London*, the Person who gave the King the Advertisement, out of his own wisdom, and knowledge of the ill consequence of that trust, caused Papers to be posted up in several places, by which all Persons were warned not to look upon Sir *Richard Willis* as faithful to the King, but as one who betrayed all that he was trusted with; which in the general had some effect, though many worthy Men still continued that intimacy with him, and communicated with him all they knew to be resolved.

The Dissem-  
 verer pub-  
 lishes Papers  
 to forewarn  
 the King's  
 Friends of  
 this Person.

It was towards the end of *June* that Mr. *Mordaunt* left *Brussels*, with a resolution that there should be a general Rendezvous throughout *England* of all who would declare for the King, upon a day named, about the middle of *July*; there being Commissions in every County directed to six or seven known Men, with

Authority to them to chuse one to Command in Chief in that County, till they should make a conjunction with other Forces, who had a superior Commission from the King. And those Commissioners had in their hands plenty of Commissions under the King's hand, for Regiments and Governments, to distribute to such as they judged fit to receive them; which was the best Model (how liable soever to exception) that, in so distracted a State of Affairs could be advised

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The King, as is said, resolved at the day appointed to be at *Calais*; which resolution was kept with so great secrecy at *Brussels* that his Majesty had left the Town before it was suspected; and when he was gone, it was as little known whither he was gone; there being as much care taken to have it concealed from being known in *France*, as in *England*. Therefore, as the King went out in the Morning, so the Duke of *York* went out in the Afternoon, another way: his Highness' motion being without any suspicion, or notice, by reason of his Command in the Army. The King went attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, the Earl of *Bristol* (who was the Guide, being well acquainted with the Frontiers on both sides) and two or three Servants, all *incognito*, and as Companions; and so they found their way to *Calais*; where they staid. The Duke of *York*, with four or five of his own menial Servants, and the Lord *Langdale*, who desired to attend his Highness, went to *Boulogne*; where he remained with equal privacy; and they corresponded with each other.

The King goes  
to Calais.The Duke of  
York to  
*Boulogne*.

The Affairs in *England* had no prosperous aspect; every Post brought News of many Persons of Honor

The Disap-  
pointment of  
all the designs  
in England.

**B O O K** and Quality committed to several Prisons, through-  
**XVI.** out the Kingdom, before the day appointed; which did not terrify the rest. The day itself was accompanied with very unusual Weather at that Season of the Year, being the middle of *July*. The Night before, there had been an excessive Rain, which continued all the next day, with so terrible a cold high Wind, that the Winter had seldom so great a Storm: so that the Persons over *England*, who were drawing to their appointed Rendezvous, were much dismayed, and met with many cross Accidents; some mistook the place, and went some whither else, others went where they should be, and were weary of expecting those who should have been there too.

*Massey* seized on; but escapes.

In the beginning of the Night, when *Massey* was going for *Glocester*, a Troop of the Army beset the House where he was, and took him Prisoner; and putting him before one of the Troopers well guarded, they made haste to carry him to a place where he might be secure. But that tempestuous Night had so much of good fortune in it to him, that, in the darkest part of it, the Troop marching down a very steep Hill, with Woods on both sides, he, either by his activity, or the connivance of the Soldier, who was upon the same Horse with him, found means, that, in the steepest of the descent, they both fell from the Horse, and he disentangled himself from the embraces of the other, and being strong and nimble, got into the Woods, and so escaped out of their hands, though his design was broken.

Of all the Enterprises for the seizing upon strong places, only one succeeded, which was that undertaken



by Sir *George Booth*; all the rest failed. The Lord *Willoughby of Parham*, and Sir *Horatio Townshend*, and most of their Friends, were apprehended before the day, and made Prisoners, most of them upon general suspicions, as Men able to do hurt. Only Sir *George Booth*, being a Person of the best Quality and fortune of that County, of those who had never been of the King's party, came into *Chester*, with such Persons as he thought fit to take with him, the Night before: so that though the tempestuousness of the Night, and the next Morning, had the same effect, as in other places, to break or disorder the Rendezvous, that was appointed within four or five miles of that City, yet Sir *George* being himself there with a good Troop of Horse he brought with him, and finding others, though not in the number he looked for, he retired with those he had into *Chester*, where his Party was strong enough: and Sir *Thomas Middleton*, having kept his Rendezvous, came thither to him, and brought strength enough with him to keep those parts at their Devotion, and to suppress all there who had inclination to oppose them.

Then they published their Declaration, rather against those who called themselves the Parliament, and usurped the Government by the power of the Army, than owning directly the King's Interest. They said, "that, since God had suffered the Spirit of division to continue in this Nation, which was left without any settled foundation of Religion, Liberty, and Property, the Legislative Power usurped at pleasure, the Army raised for it's defence misled by their superior Officers, and no face of Government

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Sir G. Booth  
seized Chester;  
and Sir Tho.  
Middleton  
joins with  
him.

Their De-  
claration.

BOOK “ remaining, that was lawfully constituted; there-  
 XVI. “ fore, They, being sensible of their duty, and utter  
 “ ruin, if these distractions should continue, had taken  
 “ Arms in vindication of the freedom of Parliaments,  
 “ of the known Laws, Liberty, and Property, and of  
 “ the good People of this Nation groaning under in-  
 “ supportable Taxes: that they cannot despair of the  
 “ blessing of God, nor of the cheerful concurrence of  
 “ all good People, and of the undeceived party of the  
 “ Army; whose Arrears and future advancement  
 “ they would procure, suffering no imposition or  
 “ force on any Man’s Conscience.” But though they  
 mentioned nothing of his Majesty in express terms,  
 they gave all countenance, and reception, and all  
 imaginable assurance to the King’s Party; who had  
 directions from the King to concur, and to unite  
 themselves to them.

What disappointments soever there were in other  
 places, the same of this Action of these two Gentlemen,  
 raised the Spirits of all Men. They who were at  
 liberty renewed their former designs; and they who  
 could not promise themselves places of refuge, pre-  
 pared themselves to march to *Chester*, if Sir *George*  
*Booth* did not draw nearer with his Army; which in  
 truth he meant to have done, if the appointments  
 which had been made, had been observed. But when  
 he heard that all other places failed, and of the multi-  
 tude of Persons Imprisoned, upon whose assistance he  
 most depended, he was in great Apprehension that  
 he had begun the Work too soon; and though his  
 Numbers increased every day, he thought it best to  
 keep the Post he was in, till he knew what was like to  
 be done elsewhere.

This fire was kindled in a place which the Parliament least suspected; and therefore they were the more alarmed at the News of it; and knew it would spread far, if it were not quickly quenched; and they had now too soon use of their Army, in which they had not Confidence. There were many Officers whom they had much rather trust than *Lambert*; but there was none they thought could do their business so well: So they made choice of Him to march with such Troops as he liked, and with the greatest Expedition, to suppress this new Rebellion, which they saw had many Friends. They had formerly sent for two Regiments out of *Ireland*, which, they knew, were devoted to the Republican Interest, and those they appointed *Lambert* to join with. He undertook the Charge very willingly, being desirous to renew his Credit with the Soldiers, who had loved to be under his Command, because, though he was strict in discipline, he provided well for them, and was himself esteemed brave upon any Action. He cared not to take any thing with him that might hinder his march; which he resolved should be very swift, to prevent the increase of the Enemy in Numbers. And he did make incredible haste; so that Sir *George Booth* found he was in less than a day's march, before he thought he could have been half the way. Sir *George* himself had not been acquainted with the War, and the Officers who were with him, were not of one mind or humor; yet all were desirous to Fight (the natural infirmity of the Nation, which could never endure the view of an Enemy without engaging in a Battle) and instead of retiring into the Town, which they

The Parliament sends  
*Lambert*  
against them.

**B O O K** might have defended against a much greater Army  
**XVI.** than *Lambert* had with him, longer than he could  
 stay before it, they marched to meet him; and were,  
 after a short Encounter, Routed by him, and totally  
 broken: so that, the next day, the Gates of *Chester*  
 were opened to *Lambert*; *Sir George Booth* himself  
 making his flight in a disguise; but he was taken  
 upon the way, and sent Prisoner to the Tower.

Who routs Sir  
 G. Booth and  
 takes Chester.

*Lambert* prosecuted the advantage he had got, and  
 marched into North-*Wales*, whither *Sir Thomas Mid-*  
*dleton* was retired with his Troops to a strong Castle  
 of his own; and he thought neither the Man, nor the  
 Place, were to be left behind him. It was to no pur-  
 pose for one Man to oppose the whole Kingdom,  
 where all other Persons appeared subdued. And there-  
 fore, after a day or two making show of resistance,  
*Middleton* accepted such Conditions as he could  
 obtain, and suffered his goodly House, for the strength  
 of the Situation, to be pulled down.

Sir Thomas  
 Middleton  
 delivers up  
 his Castle.

This Success put an end to all endeavours of force  
 in *England*; and the Army had nothing to do but to  
 make all Persons Prisoners whose looks they did not  
 like; so that all Prisons in *England* were filled; whilst  
 the Parliament, exalted with their Conquest, consulted  
 what Persons they would Execute, and how they  
 should Confiscate the rest; by means whereof, they  
 made no doubt they should destroy all Seeds of future  
 Insurrections on the behalf of the King, many of the  
 Nobility being at present in custody. And they resolv-  
 ed, if other Evidence was wanting, that the very  
 suspecting them should be sufficient reason to continue  
 them there.

When



B O O K

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When the King came to *Calais*, where he received Accounts every day from *England* of what was Transacted there: as he was much troubled with the News he received daily of the Imprisonment of his Friends, so he was revived with the Fame of Sir *George Booth's* being possessed of *Chester*, and of the Conjunction between him and *Middleton*. They were reported to be in a much better posture than in truth they were; and the expectation of some appearance of Troops in *Lincolnshire*, and *Yorkshire*, and some other Counties, stood fair: whereupon the King resolved to go himself to some other part of *France*, from whence he might securely Transport himself into those parts of *England*, where, with least hazard, he might join himself with the Troops which were in Arms for him: and so went to the Coast of *Bretagne*.

The King  
removes to  
the Coast of  
*Bretagne*.

The Duke of *York* remained at *Boulogne*, to expect some appearance of Arms in *Kent*, and *Essex*; which was still promised, as soon as the Army should be drawn farther from *London*. In this expectation, his Royal Highness found an opportunity to confer with his old Friend *Maréchal Turenne*; who very frankly assigned him some Troops; and likewise provided Vessels to Transport them, if an opportunity had invited him to an Engagement in any probable Enterprise; and this with so much Generosity and Secrecy, that the Cardinal, who was then upon the Borders of *Spain*, should have had no notice of the preparation, till it was too late to prevent the effect thereof. But it pleased God, that, whilst his Highness was providing for his longed for Expedition, and when the King, after his visiting *St. Maloes*, was at *Rochelle*, in hope to

The Duke of  
*York* confers  
with *Monsieur*  
*Turenne*;  
who offers  
Assistance.

## BOOK

## XVI.

The King  
receives  
News of Sir  
G. Booth's  
defeat.

find a conveniency for his Transportation, the fatal News arrived in all parts of the defeat of Sir *George Booth*, and of the total and entire suppression of all kind of opposition to the power of the Parliament; which seemed now to be in as absolute possession of the Government of the three Nations, as ever *Cromwell* had been.

The Duke  
returns to  
*Brussels*.  
The King  
resolves to be  
at the meeting  
of the two  
Favorites  
of the two  
Crowns.

Struck with this dismal relation, the King and his Brother seemed to have nothing else to do, but to make what haste they could out of *France*; where it was thought they could not now be found with safety. The Duke of *York* returned speedily to *Brussels*; but the King, less dejected than might have been expected from the extreme despair of his Condition, resumed a resolution he had formerly taken, to make a Journey himself to the Borders of *Spain*, to solicit more powerful Supplies; the two Chief Ministers of the two Crowns being there met at this time. And indeed his Majesty preferred any peregrination before the neglect he was sure to find at *Brussels*, and the dry looks of the *Spaniards* there; who were broken into so many Factions amongst themselves, that the Government was hardly in a state to subsist; and the Marquis of *Carracena*, and *Don Alonzo*, had such an influence upon the Counsels at *Madrid*, that *Don Juan* received Orders without delay to return to *Spain*, and to leave the Government in the hands of the Marquis of *Carracena*; which *Don Juan* very unwillingly obeyed; and as soon as he could obtain a Pass to go through *France*, he left those Provinces, and made his Journey through that Kingdom towards *Madrid*. He was a Person of a small Stature, but well

Don Juan  
recalled to  
*Spain*.

made, and of great vivacity in his looks; his Parts very good, both natural and acquired, in fancy and judgment. And if he had not been restrained by his Education, and accustomed to the pride and forms of a *Spanish* breeding, which likewise disposed him to laziness and taking his pleasure, he was capable of any great Employment, and would have discharged it well.

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I said before, the Chief Ministers of the two Crowns were now met on the Borders of the two Kingdoms. For, this year, some thing had happened abroad, that, as it was new, might seem to administer new hopes to raise the King's Spirits; however, it was a subject for Men to exercise their thoughts on with variety of conjectures. The War had now continued between the two Crowns of *France* and *Spain*, for near the space of thirty years, to the scandal, and reproach of Christianity, and in spite of all the interposition and mediation of most of the Princes of *Europe*; a War wantonly entered into, without the least pretence of Right and Justice, to comply with the Pride and Humor of the two Favorites of the Crowns (besides the natural Animosity, which will always be between the two Nations) who would try the Mastery of their Wit and Invention, at the charge of their Master's Treasure, and the blood of their Subjects, against all the obligations of Leagues and Alliances; a War prosecuted only for War's sake, with all the circumstances of Fire, Sword, and Rapine, to the consumption of Millions of Treasure, and Millions of Lives of noble, worthy, and honest Men, only to improve the skill, and mystery, and science of destruction. All which

**B O O K** appeared the more unnatural and the more monstrous,  
**XVI.** that this seemed to be affected, and carried on by the power of a Brother and Sister against each other (for half the time had been spent in the Regency of the Queen of *France*) when they both loved, and tendered each other's good, and happiness, as the best Brother and Sister ought to do.

It was high time to put an end to this barbarous cruel War, which the Queen-Mother had long and passionately desired in vain. But now being more struck in years, and troubled with the infirmities of Age, and the young King being of years ripe to Marry, and the Infanta of *Spain* being in that, and all other respects, the most competent Match for him, which would be the best, and was the only Expedient to procure a Peace. her Majesty resolved to employ all her Interest, and Authority, to bring it to pass, and knowing well, all Her desires could produce no effect, if she had not the full concurrence of the Cardinal she proposed it to him with all the warmth, and all the concernment such a Subject required; conjuring him “ by all the good offices she had performed towards “ him, that he would, not only consent to it. but take “ it to heart. and put it into such a way of Negotia- “ tion, that it might arrive at the issue she desired.

The Queen-Mother of *France* designs to put an end to the war between the two Crowns by a Treaty and Marriage. She advises the Cardinal to concur in it.

His Arguments against it.

The Cardinal used all the Arguments he could, to dissuade her Majesty from desiring it at this time; “ that it would not be for her Majesty's Service; nor “ was he able to bear the reproach of being the Instrument of making a Peace, at a time when *Spain* “ was reduced to those straits, that it could no longer “ resist the Victorious Arms of *France*; that they



“ could not fail the next Summer of being possessed of **B O O K**  
 “ *Brussels* itself, and then they should not be long **XVI.**  
 “ without the rest of the *Spanish* Netherlands; and  
 “ therefore, at this time, to propose a Peace, which  
 “ must disappoint them of so sure a Conquest, would  
 “ not only be very ingrateful to the Army, but in-  
 “ cense all good *French*-men against him, and against  
 “ her Majesty herself.

The Queen was not diverted from her purpose by those Arguments; but proposed it to the King, and prosecuted it with the Cardinal, that, as himself confessed to his intimate Friends, he was necessitated either to consent to it, or to have an irreconcilable breach with her Majesty; which his gratitude would not suffer him to chuse; and thereupon He yielded; and *Don Antonio Pimentel* from *Madrid*, and *Monsieur de Lyonne* from *France*, so Negotiated this last Winter in both Courts, both, *incognito*, making several Jour-  
 nies backward and forward, and with that effect, that, by the end of the Winter, it was published, there would be a Treaty between the two Crowns, and that, in the beginning of the Summer of this year 1659, the two Favorites, *Cardinal Mazarin*, and *Don Lewis de Haro* would meet, and make a Treaty both for the Peace, and the Marriage.

But at last He yields to her purpose. The Treaty is transacted first *incognito* at Paris and Madrid.

The Cardinal was the sooner induced to this Peace by the unsettled Condition of *England*. The death of *Cromwell*, with whom he had concerted many things to come, had much perplexed him; yet the Succession of *Richard*, under the advice of the same Persons who were trusted by his Father, pleased him well. But then the throwing him out with such circumstances,

The reasons that moved the Cardinal to yield to his Peace.

B O O K broke all his Measures. He could not forget that the  
 XVI. Parliament, that now governed, were the very same Men who had eluded all his Application, appeared ever more inclined to the *Spanish* Side, and had without any color of provocation, and when he believed they stood fair towards *France*, taken the *French* Fleet, when it could not but have Relieved *Dunkirk*; by which that Town was delivered up to the *Spaniard*. He knew well, that *Spain* did, at that instant, use all the underhand means they could to make a Peace with them; and he did not believe, that the Parliament would affect the continuance of that War, at so vast a Charge both at Sea and Land; but that they would rather foment the Divisions in *France*, and endeavour to unite the Prince of *Condé* and the Hugonots; which would make a concussion in that Kingdom; and he should then have cause to repent the having put *Dunkirk* into the hands of the *English*. These reflections disturbed him, and disposed him at last to believe, that, over and above the benefit of gratifying the Queen, he should best provide for the security of *France*, and of Himself, by making a Peace with *Spain*.

However, he was not so sure of bringing it to pass, as to provoke, or neglect *England*. Therefore he renewed all the promises, he had formerly made to *Oliver*, again to *Lockhart* (who was the Ambassador now of the Republic) “that he would never make a Peace without the consent, and inclusion of *England*,” and very earnestly desired him, and writ to that purpose to the Parliament, that he might be at the Treaty with him, that so they might still consult

His promises  
 to Lockhart  
 touching his  
 adhering to  
 the Parlia-  
 ment.

what would be best for their joint Interest, from which he would never separate; insinuating to him, in broken and half Sentences, "that though the "Treaty was necessary to satisfy the Queen, there "were so many difficulties in view, that he had little "hope of a Peace:" and, in truth, many sober Men did not believe the Treaty would ever produce a Peace: for, besides the great Advantages which *France* had gotten, and that it could not be imagined, that *Spain* would ever consent to the relinquishing all those important places to the *French*, which they had then in their hands by Conquest (the usual Effect of Peace being a restitution of all places taken in the War; which *France* would never permit) there were two particulars which it was hard to find any Expedient to compose, and which, notwithstanding all the preparations made by *de Lyonne* and *Pimentel*, were entirely reserved for the Treaty of the two Favorites; both Sides having, with great obstinacy, protested against the departing from the resolution they had taken.

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Two particulars of difficulty in the Treaty referred to the personal conference between the Favorites.

The two particulars were those concerning *Portugal*, and the Prince of *Condé*. There could not be a greater Engagement, than *France* had made to *Portugal*, never to desert it, nor to make a Peace without providing that that King should quietly enjoy his Government to him and his Posterity, without being in the least degree subject to the Yoke of *Spain*. And *Spain*, was principally induced to buy a Peace upon hard terms, that it might be at liberty to take revenge of *Portugal*; which they always reckoned they should be able to do within one year, if they had no other

The first, the business of Portugal.

**B O O K** Enemy upon them; and they would never value  
**XVI.** any Peace, if That were not entirely left to them, and  
 distain'd by *France*.

The second,  
 that of the  
 Prince of  
 Condé.

On the other hand, the Prince of *Condé* had the  
 King of *Spain's* word and obligation, by the most  
 solemn Treaty that could be entered into, that he  
 would never conclude a Peace without including  
 Him, and all who adhered to him, not only to a full  
 restitution to their Honors, Offices, and Estates, but  
 with some farther recompence for the great Service he  
 had done; which was very great indeed: and no  
 body believed, that the Cardinal would ever consent  
 to the Restoration of that Prince, who had wrought  
 him so many calamities, and brought him to the brink  
 of destruction. With these ill presages, great prepara-  
 tions were made for this Treaty, and the time and  
 the place were agreed on, when, and where the two  
 great Favorites should meet. *Fuenterabia*, a place in  
 the *Spanish* Dominions, very near the Borders of  
*France*, the same place where *Francis* the first was  
 delivered, after his long Imprisonment in *Spain*, was  
 agreed upon for their Interview; a little River near  
 that place parting both the Kingdoms; and a little  
 building of boards over it, brought the two Favorites  
 to meet. without either of their going out of his  
 Master's Dominions.

Fuenterabia  
 the place of  
 interview

The same of this Treaty, as soon as it was agreed  
 to, had yielded variety, and new Matter to the King  
 to consider. Both Crowns had made the contention  
 and War that was between them, the only ground  
 and reason, why they did not give him that Assistance,  
 which in a case so near relating to themselves, he



might well expect; and both had made many professions, that, when it should please God to release them from that War, they would manifest to the world, that they took the King's case to be their own: so that his Majesty might very reasonably promise himself some advantage and benefit from this Peace, and the world could not but expect, that he would have some Ambassador present to solicit on his behalf. There were so many difficulties to find a fit Person, and so many greater to defray the expense of an Ambassador, that his Majesty had at first resolved to find himself present in that Treaty; which resolution he kept very private, though he was shortly after confirmed in it by a Letter from Sir *Harry Bennet*; by which he was informed, "that he speaking with *Don Lewis* about  
 " his Journey to *Puentarabia*, and asking him whither  
 " he would give him leave to wait on him thither,  
 " *Don Lewis* answered, that he should do well to be  
 " present; and then asked him, why the King himself  
 " would not be there; and two or three days after, he  
 " told him, that if the King, with a very light Train,  
 " came *incognito* thither, for the place could not  
 " permit them to receive him in State, after the great  
 " difficulties of the Treaty were over, he would do  
 " all he could to induce the Cardinal to concur in  
 " what might be of convenience to his Majesty."  
 The King had before resolved to have a very little Train with him, suitable to the Treasure he had to defray his Expenses, and to make his whole Journey *incognito*, and not to be known in any place through which he was to pass. But he was troubled what he was to do with reference to *France*, through which

The King resolves to be present at it.

**B O O K** he was necessarily to make his Journey. How much  
**XVI.** *incognito* soever he meant to travel, it might be necessary against any accident to have a Pass; yet to ask one, and be refused, would be worse than going without one. Though he expected much less from the Nature of the Cardinal, than from the sincerity of *Don Lewis de Haro*, yet the former was able to do him much more good than the latter; and therefore care was to be taken that he might have no cause to find himself neglected, and that more depending upon *Spain* might not irreconcile *France*.

To extricate himself out of these perplexities, his Majesty had written to the Queen his Mother, to intreat her, "as of herself, to desire the Cardinal's advice, " whether it would not be fit for the King to be present at the Treaty; that she might send his Majesty such counsel as was proper: if he thought well of it, she might then propose such Passes, as should seem reasonable to her." Her Majesty accordingly took an opportunity to ask the Question of the Cardinal; who, at the very motion, told her very warmly, " that it was by no means fit;" and that it would do the King much harm; and afterwards, recollecting himself, he wished the Queen "to let the King know, " that he should rely upon him to take care of what concerned him; which he would not fail to do, " as soon as he discerned that the Treaty would produce a Peace." Her Majesty acquiesced with this profession, and sent the King word, how kind the Cardinal was to him; but would by no means that his Majesty should think of undertaking such a Journey himself; nor did the Queen imagine that the King

Cardinal Mazarin advises against it.

would ever think of it without a Pass, and the Cardinal's approbation.

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When his Majesty had received this Account from his Mother, he saw it was to no purpose to think of a Pass. And thus far, in the beginning of this last Spring, before any design of rising in *England* was ripened, his Majesty had proceeded in his intention of being personally present at the Conference between the two great Ministers. But now, when all his expectations from *England* for this year were defeated, and when he himself was already advanced far into *France*, he thought it more necessary than ever to take up his former resolution. Being therefore by this time fully advertised, that the Favorites had been met a considerable time, and were entered so far into the Treaty, in the very entrance of which they had agreed to a Cessation of Arms, his Majesty attended by the same Company he had then with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three other Servants, together with the Earl of *Bristol* (though Sir *Harry Bennet* had before informed the King, that *Don Lewis de Haro* had particularly desired he would not bring that Earl with him; whose Company yet, in respect of his Language, the King believed would be very convenient to him) his Majesty, I say, with this Attendance, began his Journey from that part of *Bretagne* where he then was still *incognito*. He had indeed now more reason than ever to conceal himself in his Journey, and really to apprehend being stopped if he were discovered; and therefore was not to go about by *Paris*, or any of those Roads where he had been heretofore known; yet he allowed himself the

The King begins his journey thither with the Marquis of *Ormond*, and the Earl of *Bristol*.

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He goes by  
Lyons into  
Languedoc;  
and forward.

more time, that he might in his Compass see those parts of *France* where he had never been before, and indeed give himself all the pleasure, and diversion, that such a Journey would admit of. To that purpose he appointed the Earl of *Bristol* to be the Guide; who knew most of *France*. at least more than any body else did; and who always delighted to go out of the way; and *Daniel O Neile* to take care that they always fared well in their Lodgings; for which Province no Man was fitter. Thus they wheeled about by *Lyons* into *Languedoc*, and were so well pleased with the varieties in the Journey, that they not enough remembered the end of it, taking their information of the Progress in the Treaty from the Intelligence they met with in the way.

When they came near *Toulouse*, they found that the *French Court* was there, which they purposely designed to decline. However the King, going himself a nearer way, sent the Marquis of *Ormond* thither, to inform himself of the true State of the Treaty, and to meet his Majesty again at a place appointed, that was the direct way to *Fuentarabia*. The Marquis went alone without a Servant, that he might be the less suspected; and when he came to *Toulouse*, he was informed from the Common discourse of the Court, that the Treaty was upon the matter concluded, and that the Cardinal was expected there within less than a week.

An account  
of the close of  
that Treaty in  
respect of the  
ambassadors

It was very true, all matters of difficulty were over in less time than was conceived possible, both Parties equally desiring the Marriage, which could never be without the Peace. The Cardinal, who had much the



advantage over *Don Lewis* in all the faculties necessary  
 for a Treaty, excepting probity and punctuality in  
 observing what he promised, had used all the Arts  
 imaginable to induce *Don Lewis* to yield both in the  
 point of *Portugal*, and what related to the Prince of  
*Condé*, and his Party. He enlarged upon "the despe-  
 "rate estate in which *Flanders* was; and that they  
 "could possess themselves entirely of it in one Cam-  
 "paign; and therefore it might easily be concluded,  
 "that nothing but the Queen's absolute Authority,  
 "could in such a conjuncture have disposed the King  
 "to a Treaty; and, he hoped, that she should not be  
 "so ill requited, as to be obliged to break the Treaty,  
 "or to oblige the King her Son to consent to what  
 "was indispensably against his Honor: that if he  
 "should recede from the Interest of *Portugal*, no  
 "Prince or State would hereafter enter into Alliance  
 "with him: that though they were bound to insist to  
 "have *Portugal* included in the Peace, yet he would  
 "be contented that a long Truce might be made, and  
 "all Acts of Hostility forborne for a good Number of  
 "years, which, he said, was necessary for *Spain*, that  
 "they might recover the fatigue of the long War  
 "they had sustained, before they entered into a New  
 "One: if they would not consent to that, then that  
 "*Portugal* should be left out of the Peace, and *Spain*  
 "at liberty to prosecute the War, and *France* at the  
 "same time to assist *Portugal*, which, he said, in re-  
 "spect of the distance, they should never be able to  
 "administer in such a proportion as would be able to  
 "preserve it from their Conquest; not without in-  
 "sinuation, that, so they might not renounce the

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 concerning  
 Portugal and  
 the Prince of  
 Condé.

B O O K “ promise they had made, they would not be over-  
 XVI. “ solicitous to perform it. As to the Prince *Condé*,  
 “ that the Catholic King was now to look upon  
 “ *France* as the Dominion of his Son in Law, and  
 “ to be inherited by his Grandson, and therefore  
 “ he would consider what peril it might bring to  
 “ both, if the Prince of *Condé* were restored to his  
 “ greatness in that Kingdom, who only could disturb  
 “ the Peace of it, and whose Ambition was so restless,  
 “ that they could no longer enjoy Peace, than whilst  
 “ he was not in a condition to interrupt it.” The  
 Cardinal told him, in confidence, of several Indignities  
 offered by the Prince of *Condé* to the Person of the  
 Queen, of which her Brother ought to be very sensi-  
 ble, and which would absolve him from any Engage-  
 ment he had entered into with that Prince; which he  
 would never have done, if his Majesty had been fully  
 informed of those rude Transgressions. And therefore  
 he besought *Don Lewis*, “ that the joy and triumph,  
 “ which the King and the Queen would be possessed  
 “ of by this Peace and Marriage, might not be cloud-  
 “ ed, and even rendered disconsolate, by their being  
 “ bound to behold a Man in their presence, who had  
 “ so often, and with so much damage, and disdain,  
 “ affronted them both; but that the Peace of *France*  
 “ might be secured by that Prince’s being for ever  
 “ restrained from living in it; which being provided  
 “ for, whatsoever his Catholic Majesty should require  
 “ in ready Money, or Pensions, to enable the Prince  
 “ to live in his just Splendor abroad, should be con-  
 “ sented to.”

*Don Lewis de Haro* was a Man of great Temper, of

a fallow Complexion, Hypochondriac, and never weary of hearing; thought well of what he was to say; what he wanted in acuteness he made up in wariness; and though he might omit the saying somewhat he had a good occasion to say, he never said any thing of which he had occasion to repent. He had a good judgment and understanding, and as he was without any talent of Rhetoric, so he was very well able to defend himself from it. He told the Cardinal, “ that he knew well his Master’s Affairs needed a  
“ Peace with *France*; and that the accomplishing this  
“ Marriage, was the only way to attain it: that the  
“ Marriage was the best, and the most honorable in  
“ Christendom, and ought to be equally desired on  
“ both sides; that his Catholic Majesty was sensible  
“ of his own Age, and the infirmities which attended  
“ it; and desired nothing more than that, before his  
“ death, he might see this Peace and this Marriage  
“ finished, and made perfect; and that he was well  
“ content to purchase the former at any price, but of  
“ his Honor; which was the only thing he preferred  
“ even before Peace: that for *Portugal*, the ground-  
“ less Rebellion there was so well known to all the  
“ World, that he should not go to his Grave in  
“ Peace, if he should do any thing which might look  
“ like a countenance, or concession to that Title, that  
“ was only founded upon Treason and Rebellion;  
“ or if he should omit the doing any thing that might,  
“ with God’s blessing, of which he could not doubt,  
“ reduce that Kingdom to their duty, and his obedience: that his resolution was, as soon as this Peace  
“ should be concluded, to apply all the Force and all

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“ the Treasure of his Dominions, to the Invasion of  
 “ *Portugal*; which, he hoped, would be sufficient  
 “ speedily to subdue it; and was a great part of the  
 “ fruit he promised himself from this Peace; and  
 “ therefore he would never permit any thing to be  
 “ concluded in it that might leave *France* at liberty  
 “ to assist that War: that the Catholic King had done  
 “ all he could, both by *Don Antonio Pimentel* and  
 “ *Monsieur de Lyonne*, that his most Christian Majesty  
 “ might know his unalterable resolution in the point  
 “ of *Portugal*, and with reference to the Prince of  
 “ *Condé*, before He consented to Treat; and that he  
 “ would never depart from what he had declared in  
 “ cipher: that He had made a Treaty with the Prince  
 “ of *Condé*; by which he had engaged himself never  
 “ to desert his Interest, nor to make a Peace without  
 “ providing for his full restitution and reparation,  
 “ and of those who had run his Fortune, and put  
 “ themselves under his Protection: that the Prince  
 “ had performed all he had undertaken to do and  
 “ had rendered very great Service to his Catholic  
 “ Majesty: who would not only rather lose *Flanders*,  
 “ but his Crown likewise, than fail in any par-  
 “ ticular which he was bound to make good to the  
 “ Prince:” and therefore he desired the Cardinal “to  
 “ acquiesce in both these particulars, from which he  
 “ should not recede in a tittle; in others, he would  
 “ not have the same obstinacy.”

When the Cardinal found that all his Art. and  
 crafty Eloquence were lost upon *Don Lewis'* want of  
 Politeness; and that he could not bend him in the least  
 degree in either of these important particulars, he  
 resolved



resolved they should pay otherwise for their Idol Honor, and Punctuality; and after he had brought him to consent to the detention of all the places they had taken, as well in *Luxemburgh*, as *Flanders*, and all other Provinces, by which they dismembered all the *Spanish* Dominions in those parts, and kept themselves nearer Neighbours to the *Hollanders*, than the other desired they should be, he compelled them, though a thing very foreign to the Treaty, to deliver the Town of *Juliers* to the Duke of *Newburgh*, without the payment of any Money for what they had laid out upon the Fortifications; which they could otherwise claim. It is very true, that Town did belong of right to the Duke of *Newburgh*, as part of the Duchy of *Juliers*, which was descended to him. But it is as true, that it was preserved by *Spain*, from being possessed by the *Hollanders* many years before, and by Treaty to remain in their hands till they should receive satisfaction for all their Disbursements. After which time, they erected the Citadel there, and much mended the Fortifications. And this dependance, and expectation, had kept that Prince fast to all the *Spanish* Interest in *Germany*: whereas, by the wresting it now out of their hands, and frankly giving it up to the true Owner, they got the entire Devotion of the Duke of *Newburgh* to *France*, and so a new Friend to strengthen their Alliance upon the *Rhine*, which was before inconvenient enough to *Spain*, by stopping the resort of any *German* Succours into *Flanders*. And if at any time to come, the *French* shall purchase *Juliers* from the Duke of *Newburgh*, as upon many Accidents he may be induced to part with it, they will be possessed of the

B O O K. most advantageous Post to facilitate their enterprises  
 XVI. upon *Liege*, or *Cologne*, or to disturb the *Hollanders*  
 in *Moesfricht*, or to seize upon *Aquisgrane*, an Imperial  
 Town; and, indeed, to disturb the Peace of *Christendom*.

Of *Portugal* no other care was taken in the Treaty,  
 than that after the *French King* had pompously declar-  
 ed, "he would have given up all his Conquests by the  
 " War, provided the King of *Spain* would have con-  
 " sented that all things should remain in *Portugal* as  
 " they were at that present" (which Proposition, it was  
 said, his Catholic Majesty had absolutely refused) now  
 " the most Christian King should be allowed three  
 " Months time, counting from the day of the Ratifi-  
 " cation of the Treaty, wherein he might try to dispose  
 " the *Portuguese* to satisfy his Catholic Majesty. But  
 " after those three Months should be expired, if his  
 " good offices should not produce the effect desired,  
 " then neither his Most Christian Majesty nor his  
 " Successors should give the *Portuguese* any aid or  
 " assistance, publicly or secretly, directly or indirect-  
 " ly, by Sea or Land, or in any other manner what-  
 " soever." And this the ingenuity of the Cardinal  
 thought could never be called renouncing of the  
 King of *Portugal's* Interest.

To the Prince of *Condé* all things were yielded  
 which had been insisted on; and full recompence  
 made to such of his Party as could not be restored to  
 their Offices; as President *Viola*, and some others:  
 yet *Don Lewis* would not sign the Treaty, till he had  
 sent an Express to the Prince of *Condé*, to inform him  
 of all the particulars, and had received his full appro-  
 bation. And even then, the King of *Spain* caused a

great Sum of Money to be paid to him, that he might discharge all the debts which he had contracted in *Flanders*, and reward his Officers, who were to be disbanded; a Method *France* did not use at the same time to their Profelytes, but left *Catalonia* to their King's Chastisement, without any provision made for *Don Josepho de Margarita*, and others, who had been the principal Contrivers of those disturbances; and were left to eat the bread of *France*; where it is administered to them very sparingly, without any hope of ever seeing their Native Country again, except they make their way thither by fomenting a new Rebellion.

When all things were concluded, and the Engrossments preparing, the Cardinal came one Morning into *Don Lewis* his Chamber with a sad Countenance; and told him, "they had lost all their pains, and the Peace could not be concluded." At which *Don Lewis*, in much disturbance, asked, "what the matter was?" the Cardinal very composedly answered, that "it must not be; that they two were too good Catholics to do any thing against the Pope's infallibility, which would be called in question by this Peace; since his Holiness had declared, that there would be no Peace made;" as indeed he had done, after he had, from the first hour of his Pontificate, labored it for many years, and found himself still deluded by the Cardinal, who had yet promised him, that, when the Season was ripe for it, he should have the sole power to conclude it; so that when he heard that the two Favorites were to meet, of which he had no Notice. he said in the Consistory, "that he was sure that Cardinal *Mazarin* would not make a

BOOK XVI. "Peace." *Don Lewis* was glad that there was no other objection against it; and so all the Company made themselves merry at the Pope's charge

When the Marquis of *Ormond* discovered by the information he received at *Toulouse*, that the Treaty was so near an end, he made all possible haste to the place the King had appointed to meet at, that his Majesty might lose no more time. When he came thither, he found no body; which he imputed to the usual delays in their Journey; and stayed one whole day in expectation of them; but then concluded that they were gone forward some other way, and so thought it his business to hasten to *Fuentarabia*, where he heard nothing of the King. Sir *Harry Bennet* was in great perplexity, and complained, very reasonably, that the King neglected his own business in such a conjuncture, the benefit whereof was lost by his not coming. *Don Lewis* seemed to wonder, that the King had not come thither, whilst the Cardinal and He were together. The Treaty was now concluded; and though the Cardinal remained still at his old Quarters on the *French* side, under some indisposition of the Gout, yet He and *Don Lewis* were to meet no more. But *Don Lewis* was the less troubled that the King had not come sooner, because he had found the Cardinal, as often as he had taken occasion to speak of the King, very cold, and reserved; and he had magnified the power of the Parliament, and seemed to think his Majesty's hopes desperate; and advised *Don Lewis*, "to be wary how he embarked himself in an Affair that had no foundation; and that it was rather time for all Catholics to unite to the breaking the power and



“ interest of the Heretical Party, wherever it was, than to strengthen it by restoring the King, except He would become Catholic.” And it is believed by Wise Men, that, in that Treaty, somewhat was agreed to the prejudice of the Protestant Interest; and that, in a short time, there would have been much done against it both in *France*, and *Germany*, if the measures they had there taken had not been shortly broken; chiefly by the surprising Revolution in *England* (which happened the next year) and also by the death of the two great Favorites of the two Crowns, *Don Lewis de Haro*, and *Cardinal Mazarin*; who both died not very long after it; the Cardinal, probably, struck with the wonder, if not the agony of that undreamed of prosperity of our King’s Affairs; as if he had taken it ill, and laid it to heart, that God Almighty would bring such a work to pass in *Europe*, without his concurrence, and even against all his Machinations.

During the whole time of the Treaty, *Lockhart* had been at *Bayonne*, and frequently consulted with the Cardinal, and was by him brought to *Don Lewis* twice or thrice, where they spoke of the mutual benefit that would redound to both, if a Peace were settled between *Spain* and *England*. But the Cardinal treated *Lockhart* (who was in all other occasions too hard for him) in such a manner, that, till the Peace was upon the matter concluded, he did really believe it would not be made (as appeared by some of his Letters from *Bayonne*, which fell into the King’s hands) and to the last he was persuaded, that *England* should be comprehended in it, in terms to its satisfaction.

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The King, the next day after he had sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to *Toulouse*, received information upon the way, that the Treaty was absolutely ended, and that *Don Lewis* was returned to *Madrid*; to which giving credit, he concluded, that it would be to no purpose to prosecute his Journey to *Fuentarabia*; and therefore was easily persuaded by the Earl of *Bristol* to take the nearest way to *Madrid*, by entering into *Spain* as soon as they could; presuming that the Marquis of *Ormond* would quickly conclude whither they were gone, and follow his Majesty. With this resolution, and upon this Intelligence, they continued their Journey till they came to *Saragossa*, the Metropolis of the Kingdom of *Aragon*. Here they received Advertisement, that the Treaty was not fully concluded, and that *Don Lewis* remained still at *Fuentarabia*. This was a new perplexity: at last they resolved, that the King, and the Earl of *Bristol*, who had still a mind to *Madrid*, should stay at *Saragossa*, whilst *O Neile* should go to *Fuentarabia*, and return with direction what course they were to steer.

*Don Lewis*, and the Marquis of *Ormond*, were in great confusion with the apprehension that some ill Accident had befallen the King, when Mr. *O Neile* arrived, and informed them by what accident, and misintelligence, the King had resolved to go to *Madrid*, if he had not been better informed at *Saragossa*; where he now remained, till he should receive farther advice. *Don Lewis* was in all the disturbance imaginable, when he heard the relation: he concluded that this was a trick of the Earl of *Bristol*; that he held some Intelligence with *Don Juan*, and intended to

The King by  
mistake went  
into Spain  
as far as to  
*Saragossa*.

carry the King to *Madrid*, whilst he was absent, with a purpose to affront him, and in hope to transact somewhat without his Privy. They were now to save, and to borrow all the Money they could, to defray the Expenses which must be shortly made for the Interview, Marriage, and delivery of the Infanta and all this must be spent upon the King of *England's* Entry, and entertainment in *Madrid*; for a King *incognito* was never heard of in *Spain*. The Marriage was concluded and now another young unmarried King must be received, and caressed in that Court; which would occasion much discourse both in *Spain* and *France*. All these things his melancholy had made him revolve; nor did he conceal the trouble he endured, from the Marquis of *Ormond*, and Sir *Harry Bennet*; who assured him, "that all that was past was by mere mistake, " and without any purpose to decline Him, upon " whose Friendship alone the King absolutely depended," and undertook positively, "that as soon as his Majesty should be informed of his advice, he would " make all the haste thither he could, without thought " of doing any thing else:" which *Don Lewis* desired might be effected as soon as was possible: So *O Neile* returned to *Saragossa*, and his Majesty without delay made his Journey from thence to *Fuenterabia*, with as much expedition as he could use.

Thence returns to *Fuenterabia*.

The King was received according to the *Spanish* Mode and Generosity, and treated with the same respect and reverence that could be showed to his Catholic Majesty himself, if he had been in that place. *Don Lewis* delivered all that could be said from the King, his Master; "how much he was troubled, that

His Treatment there by *Don Lewis de Haro*.

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“ the condition of his Affairs, and the necessity that  
 “ was upon him to make shortly a long Journey,  
 “ would not permit him to invite his Majesty to *Ma-*  
 “ *drid* and to treat him in that manner that was suitable  
 “ to his Grandeur: that having happily concluded  
 “ the Peace, he had now nothing so much in his  
 “ thoughts, as how he might be able to give, or pro-  
 “ cure such assistance as his Majesty stood in need of;  
 “ and that he should never be destitute of any thing,  
 “ that His power and interest could help him to.”  
*Don Lewis* for himself made all those professions, which  
 could possibly be expected from him. He confessed,  
 “ that there was no provision made in the Treaty that  
 “ the two Crowns would jointly assist his Majesty;  
 “ but, that he believed the Cardinal would be ready  
 “ to perform all good Offices towards him; and that,  
 “ for his own particular, his Majesty should receive  
 “ good Testimony of the profound veneration he had  
 “ for him.”

*Don Lewis* intimated a Wish, that his Majesty  
 could yet have some conference with the Cardinal;  
 who was, as is said, still within distance. Whereupon  
 the King sent the Marquis of *Ormond* to visit him, and  
 to let him know, that his Majesty had a desire to come  
 to him, that he might have some conference with him,  
 and receive his Counsel and Advice. But the Cardinal  
 would by no means admit it; said, “ it would admi-  
 “ nister unreasonable jealousy to the Parliament,  
 “ without any manner of benefit to the King.” He  
 made many large professions, which he could do well,  
 of his Affection to the King; desired, “ he would have  
 “ patience till the Marriage should be over, which

The Cardinal  
would not see  
the King.



“ would be in the next Spring ; and till then their  
 “ Majesties must remain in those parts : but, as soon  
 “ as that should be despatched, the whole Court  
 “ would return to *Paris*; and that he would not be  
 “ long there, before he gave the King some evidence  
 “ of his kindness and respect :” other answer than this  
 the Marquis could not obtain.

After his Majesty had stayed as long as he thought convenient at *Fuentarabia* (for he knew well that *Don Lewis* was to return to *Madrid* before the King of *Spain* could take any resolution to begin, or order his own Journey, and that he stayed there only to entertain his Majesty) he discerned that he had nothing more to do than to return to *Flanders* ; where, he was assured, his reception should be better than it had been. So he declared his resolution to begin his return on such a day. In the short time of his stay there, the Earl of *Bristol*, according to his excellent talent, which seldom failed him in any exigent, from as great a prejudice as could attend any Man, had wrought himself so much into the good graces of all the *Spaniards*, that *Don Lewis* was willing to take him with him to *Madrid*, and that he should be received into the Service of his Catholic Majesty, in such a Province as should be worthy of him. So that his Majesty had now a less Train to return with him, the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Daniel O Neile*, and two or three Servants.

*Don Lewis*, with a million of excuses that their Expenses had been so great, as had wasted all their Money, presented his Majesty with seven thousand gold Pistoles, “ to defray,” as he said, “ the Expenses  
 “ of his Journey,” with assurance, “ that, when he

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The King's  
return to-  
wards Flan-  
ders by Paris.

He came to  
Brussels about  
the end of  
Decemb.

" came into *Flanders*, he should find all necessary Orders for his better Accommodation, and carrying " on his business." So his Majesty begun his Journey, and took *Paris* in his way to visit the Queen his Mother, with whom a good understanding was made upon removing all former mistakes; and, towards the end of *December*, he returned to *Brussels* in good Health; where he found his two Brothers, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, impatiently expecting him.

The pleasure and variety of his Journey, and the very civil treatment he had received from *Don Lewis*, with the good disposition he had left the Queen his Mother in, had very much revived and refreshed the King's Spirit, and the Joy for his Return dispersed the present Clouds. But he had not been long at *Brussels* before he discerned the same melancholy and despair in the Countenances of most Men, which he had left there: and though there had some Changes happened in *England*, which might reasonably encourage Men to look for greater, they had so often been disappointed in those Expectations, that it was a reproach to any Man to think that any good could come from thence.

Upon this melancholic conjuncture some about the King began to think of providing a Religion, as well as other conveniences, that might be grateful to those People and Places, where, and with whom they were like to reside. The Protestant Religion was found to be very unagreeable to their Fortune, and they exercised their thoughts most how to get handsomely from it; and if it had not been for the King's own steadiness, of which he gave great indications, Men would have been more out of Countenance to have

owned the Faith they were of; and many made little doubt, but that it would shortly be very manifest to the King, that his Restoration depended wholly upon a Conjunction of Catholic Princes, who could never be united, but on the behalf of Catholic Religion.

The best the King could now look for, seemed to be a permission to remain in *Flanders*, with a narrow assignation for his Bread, which was a melancholic Condition for a King; nor could That be depended upon; for there were secret approaches made, both from *England* and *Spain*, towards a Peace; and the *Spaniard* had great reason to desire it. that he might meet with no obstruction in his intended Conquest of *Portugal*. And what influence any Peace might have upon his Majesty's quiet, might reasonably be apprehended. However, there being no War in *Flanders*, the Dukes of *York* and *Glocester*, could no longer remain in an unactive course of Life; and the Duke of *York* had a great Family, impatient to be where they might enjoy plenty, and where they might be absent from the King. And therefore, when the Marquis of *Carracena* at this time brought the Duke of *York* a Letter from the King of *Spain*, that he would make him *El Admirante del Oceano*, his Highness was exceedingly pleased with it, and those about him so transported with the promotion, that they thought any Man to be a declared Enemy to their Master, who should make any objection against his accepting it. And when they were told, "that it was not such a " preferment, that the Duke should so greedily embrace it, before he knew what Conditions he should " be subject to, and what he might expect from it:

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The ill state of  
his Majesty's  
affairs there.

The Duke of  
York invited  
into Spain.

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“ that the Command had been in a younger Son of the Duke of *Savoy*, and at another time in a younger Son of the Duke of *Florence*, who both grew quickly weary of it; for whatever Title they had, the whole Command was in the *Spanish* Officers under Them; and that, if the Duke were there, he might possibly have a competent Pension to live on Shore, but would never be suffered to go to Sea under any Title of Command, till he first changed his Religion;” all this had no signification with them; but they prevailed with his Royal Highness, to return his content, and acceptance of the Office, by the same Courier who brought the Letter.

The Lord  
Jermyn came  
to the King  
with Compli-  
ments from  
the Cardinal.

The Marquis of *Carracena* likewise told the King, that he had received Orders to put all things in a readiness for his Expedition into *England*, towards which he would add three thousand Men to those Troops which his Majesty already had.” At the same time the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr. *Walter Moun-  
tague*, came to the King from *Paris*, with many Compliments from the Cardinal, “ that when there should be a Peace between the two Northern Kings” (for *Sweden* and *Denmark* were now in a War) “ *France* would declare avowedly for the King; but in the mean time they could only assist him under hand; and to that purpose, they had appointed three thousand Men to be ready on the Borders of *France*, to be Transported out of *Flanders*, and thirty thousand Pistoles to be disposed of by the King to advance that Expedition.” Sir *Henry Bennet* had sent from *Madrid* a Copy of the *Spanish* Orders to the Marquis of *Carracena*; by which he was not (as he had told



the King) to add three thousand Men to the King's Troops, but to make those which his Majesty had amount to the Number of three thousand. But that which was strangest, the King must be obliged to Embark them in *France*. The Men the Cardinal would provide, must be Embarked in *Flanders*; and they who were to be supplied by *Spain*, must be Embarked in *France*. So that by these two specious pretences, and proffers, the King could only discern, that they were both afraid of offending *England*, and would offer nothing of which his Majesty could make any use, before they might take such a prospect of what was like to come to pass, that they might new-form their Counsels. And the Lord *Jermyn*, and Mr. *Mountague*, had so little expectation of *England*, that they concurred both in opinion, that the Duke of *York* should embrace the opportunity that was offered from *Spain*: to which they made no doubt the Queen would give Her consent.

In this state of despair the King's Condition was concluded to be, about the beginning of *March*, old Style, 1659: and though his Majesty, and those few intrusted by him, had reason to believe that God would be more propitious to him, from some great alterations in *England*; yet such imagination was so looked upon as mere dotage, that the King thought not fit to communicate the hopes he had but left all Men to cast about for themselves till they were awakened and confounded by such a prodigious Act of Providence, as God hath scarce vouchsafed to any Nation, since he led his own chosen People through the *Red Sea*.

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## XVI

The affairs  
of England  
after the de-  
feat of  
Booth and  
Middleton.

The Parlia-  
ment grows  
jealous of  
Lambert's  
Army.

After the defeat of *Booth* and *Middleton*, and the King's hopes so totally destroyed, the Parliament thought of Transporting the Loyal Families into *Barbadoes*, and *Jamaica*, and other Plantations, lest they might hereafter produce in *England* Children of their Fathers Affections; and, by degrees, so to model their Army that they might never give them more trouble. They had sent *Lambert* a thousand pounds to buy him a Jewel; which he employed better by bestowing it among the Officers, who might well deserve it of him. This bounty of his, was quickly known to the Parliament; which concluded, that he intended to make a Party in the Army, that should more depend upon Him than upon Them. And this put them in mind of his former behaviour; and that it was by His advice, that they were first dissolved, and that He in truth had helped to make *Cromwell* Protector, upon his promise that He should succeed him; and that he fell from him only because he had frustrated him of that expectation. They therefore resolved to secure him from doing farther harm, as soon as he should come to the Town.

*Lambert*, instead of making haste to them, found some delays in his march (as if all were not safe) to seize upon the Persons of Delinquents. He was well informed of their good purposes towards him, and knew that the Parliament intended to make a Peace with all Foreigners, and then to disband their Army, except only some few Regiments, which should consist only of Persons at their own devotion. He foresaw what His portion then must be, and that all the ill he had done towards them would be remembered, and the

good forgotten. He therefore contrived a Petition, which was signed by the inferior Officers of his Army; in which they desired the Parliament, "that they might be governed, as all Armies used to be, by a General, who might be amongst them, and other Officers according to their Qualities, subordinate to him." The Address was entitled, *The humble Petition and Proposals of the Army, under the Command of the Lord Lambert, in the late Northern Expedition.*

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The Petition  
and Proposals  
of Lambert's  
Army.

They made a large Recapitulation of "the many Services they had done, which they thought were forgotten; and that now lately they had preserved them from an Enemy, which, if they had been suffered to grow, would, in a short time, have overrun the Kingdom, and engaged the Nation in a new bloody War; to which too many Men were still inclined;" and concluded with a desire, "that they would commit the Army to *Fleetwood*, as General; and that they would appoint *Lambert* to be Major-General." *Fleetwood* was a weak Man, but very popular with all the praying part of the Army; a Man, whom the Parliament would have trusted, if they had not resolved to have no General, being as confident of his fidelity to them, as of any Man's; and *Lambert* knew well he could govern him, as *Cromwell* had done *Fairfax*, and then in the like manner lay him aside. This Petition was sent by some trusty Person to some Colonels of the Army, in whom *Lambert* had confidence, to the end that they should deliver it to *Fleetwood*, to be by him presented first to the Council of Officers, and afterwards to the Parliament. He resolved first to consult with some of

The Petition

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discovered to  
Hallerig who  
acquainted the  
House with it.

They pass a  
Vote to have  
no more Ge-  
neral-Officers.

The Council  
of Officers,  
upon this pro-  
pose a Peti-  
tion, and Re-  
presentation  
to the Parlia-  
ment.

his Friends for Their advice; and so it came to the notice of *Hallerig*, who immediately informed the Parliament of a Rebellion growing in the Army, which, if not suppressed, would undo all they had done. They, as they were always apt to take Alarms of that kind, would not have the patience to expect the delivery of the Petition, but sent to *Fleetwood* for it. He answered, he had only a Copy, but that such Officers, whom he named, had the Original. The Officers were presently sent for, but could not be found till the Afternoon; when they produced the Petition. Whereupon the Parliament, that they might discountenance and exclude any Address of that kind, passed a Vote, that the having more general Officers was a thing needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Commonwealth.

This put the whole Army into that Disorder, that *Lambert* could with it in; and brought the Council of Officers to meet again more avowedly, than they had done since the reviving of the Parliament. They prepared and presented a Petition and Representation to the Parliament: in which they gave them many good words, and assured them of their fidelity towards them; but yet that they would so far take care for their own preservation, that they would not be at the Mercy of their Enemies, and implied, that they having no way forfeited their Rights of Freemen, had likewise Privileges, which they would not quit; and then seconded the proposals of the *Northern Brigade* with more warmth, and desired, that whatever Persons should for the future groundlessly inform the Parliament against them, creating jealousies, and



“ and casting scandalous imputations upon them, BOOK  
 “ may be brought to examination, justice, and con- XVI.  
 “ dign punishment.”

The Parliament that was governed by *Vane*, and *Haslerig* (the Heads of the Republic-Party, though of very different Natures, and Understandings) found there would be no compounding this dispute amicably, but that one Side must be suppressed. They resolved therefore to take away all hope of Subsistence from the Army, if they should be inclined to make any alteration in the Government by force. In order thereunto they declared, “that it should be Treason  
 “ in any Person whatsoever to raise, levy, and collect  
 “ Money, without consent in Parliament.” Then they made void all Acts for Custom, and Excise; and by this there was nothing left to maintain the Army, except they would prey upon the People, which could not hold long. Next they cashiered *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army; with whom they were most offended, for subscribing a Letter to all the other Forces desiring their concurrence with the Army in *London*, and conferred their Regiments and Commands upon other Persons, in whom they could confide; and committed the whole Government of the Army into the hands of seven Commissioners; who were, *Fleetwood* (whom they believed to have a great Interest in the Army, and so durst not totally disoblige him) *Ludlow* (who commanded the Army in *Ireland*) *Monk* (who was their General in *Scotland*) *Haslerig*, *Walton*, *Morley*, and *Overton*; who were all upon the place.

The Parliament declare it Treason to raise Money without consent of Parliament, and make void all Money Acts. They cashier *Lambert*, and eight other principal Officers of the Army. They make seven Commissioners to govern the Army.

The Army was too far engaged to retire, and it was  
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**BOOK** unskillfully done by the Parliament to provoke so  
**XVI.** many of them, being not sure of a competent strength to execute their Orders. But they had a great presumption upon the City; and had already forgotten, how the Army baffled it about a dozen years before, when the Parliament had much more reputation, and the Army less terror. The Nine cashiered Officers were resolved not to part with their Commands, nor would the Soldiers submit to their new Officers; and both Officers and Soldiers consulted their Affairs so well together, that they agreed to meet at *Westminster* the next Morning, and determine to whose lot it would come to be cashiered.

The Parlia-  
 ment sent  
 for Forces to  
 defend them,  
 and for the  
 City-Militia.

The Parliament, to encounter this design, sent their Orders to those Regiments whose fidelity they were confident of, to be the next Morning at *Westminster* to defend them from force; and likewise sent into the City to draw down their Militia. Of the Army, the next Morning, there appeared two Regiments of Foot, and four Troops of Horse; who were well Armed, and ranged themselves in the *Palace-yard*, with a Resolution to oppose all force that should attempt the Parliament. *Lambert* intended they should have little to do there; and divided his Party in the Army to the several places by which the City-Militia could come to *Westminster*, with order "that they should suffer none to march that way, or to come out of the Gates;" then placed himself with some Troops in *King-street*, and before *White-Hall*, to expect when the Speaker would come to the House; who, at his accustomed hour, came, in his usual State, guarded with his Troop of Horse. *Lambert* rode up

to the Speaker. and told him, "there was nothing to  
 " be done at *Westminster*," and therefore advised him  
 " to return back again to his House:" which he re-  
 fused to do, and endeavoured to proceed, and called  
 to his Guard to make way. Upon which *Lambert*  
 rode to the Captain, and pulled him off his Horse;  
 and bid Major *Creed*, who had formerly Commanded  
 that Troop, to mount into his Saddle; which he pre-  
 sently did. Then he took away the Mace, and bid  
 Major *Creed* conduct Mr. *Lenthall* to his House.  
 Whereupon they made his Coach-man turn, and with-  
 out the least contradiction the Troop marched very  
 quietly, till he was alighted at his own House; and  
 then disposed of themselves as their new Captain  
 commanded them.

When they had thus secured themselves from any  
 more Votes, *Lambert* sent to those who had been  
 ordered into the *Palace-yard* by the Parliament, to  
 withdraw to their Quarters; which they refused to  
 do, at which he smiled, and bid them then to stay  
 there; which they did till towards the Evening: but  
 then finding themselves laughed at, that they had  
 nothing to do, and that the Parliament sat not, they  
 desired that they might repair to their Quarters; which  
 they were appointed to do. But their Officers were  
 cashiered; and such sent to command as *Lambert*  
 thought fit; who found all submission and obedience  
 from the Soldiers, though no body yet knew who  
 had power to command them. There was no Parlia-  
 ment, nor any Officer in the Army who was by his  
 Commission above the degree of a Colonel, nor had  
 any of them power to command more than his own  
 Regiment.

## B O O K

## XVI.

The Officers  
meet, and  
chuse Fleet-  
wood Gene-  
ral, &c.

Whereupon the Officers of the Army meet together and declare, "that the Army finding itself without  
" a General, or other general Officers, had Themsel-  
" ves made choice of *Fleetwood* to be their General,  
" and of *Lambert* to be their Major-General, and of  
" *Desborough* to be Commissary-General of the Horse;  
" and that they bound themselves to obey them in  
" their several Capacities, and to adhere to, and  
" defend them." Upon the publishing this Declaration, they assumed their several Provinces; and the whole Army took Commissions from their new General; and were as much united, as if they were under *Cromwell*; and looked upon it as a great deliverance, that they should no more be subject to the Parliament; which they all detested.

Vane's and  
Haslerig's  
parts in this  
business.

But these Generals were not at ease; they knew well upon what slippery ground they stood: the Parliament had stopped all the Channels in which the Revenue was to run; put an end to all payments of Custom and Excise; and to revive these Impositions, by which the Army might receive their Wages, required another Authority than of the Army itself. The divisions in the Parliament, had made the outrage that was committed upon it less reproachful. *Vane*, who was much the wisest Man, found he could never make that Assembly settle such a Government as He affected, either in Church or State: and *Haslerig*, who was of a rude, and stubborn Nature, and of a weak understanding, concurred only with him in all the fierce Counsels, which might more irrecoverably disinherit the King, and root out his Majesty's Party; in all other things relating to the Temporal, or



Ecclesiastical matters, they were not only of different judgements, but of extraordinary animosity against each other. 6 0 0 2  
xvi.

*Vane* was a Man not to be described by any Character of Religion; in which he had swallowed some of the fancies, and extravagancies of every Sect, or Faction; and was become (which cannot be expressed by any other Language than was peculiar to that time) *a Man above Ordinances*, unlimited, or unrestrained by any rules, or bounds prescribed to other Men, by reason of his perfection. He was a perfect Enthusiast; and, without doubt, did believe himself inspired; which so far corrupted his reason and understanding (which in all matters without the Verge of Religion was Superior to that of most Men) that he did at some time believe, he was the Person deputed to Reign over the Saints upon Earth for a thousand years.

*Hastlerig* was, as to the State, perfectly Republican and as to Religion, perfectly Presbyterian: and so he might be sure never to be troubled with a King or a Bishop, was indifferent to other things; only he believed the Parliament to be the only Government that would infallibly keep those two out; and his Credit in the House was greater than the other's; which made *Vane* less troubled at the Violence that was used (though he would never advise it) and appear willing enough to conser, and join with those who would find any other hinge to hang the Government upon: so he presently entered into conversation with those of the Army, who were most like to have Authority.

A Model of such a Government, as the People must

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XVI.

A Committee  
of Safety  
constituted  
by the Army.

acquiesce in, and submit to, would require very much Agitation, and very long time; which the present conjuncture would not bear: nor were there enough of one mind, to give great Authority to their Counsels. In this they could agree, which might be an expedient towards more ripe resolutions, "that a Number of Persons should be chosen, who, under the style of a *Committee of Safety*, should assume the present entire Government, and have full power to revive all such Orders, or to make new, which might be necessary for raising of Money, or for doing any thing else which should be judged for the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom; and to consider and determine, what form of Government was fit to be erected, to which the Nation was to submit." They also declared "all the Orders, Acts, or pretended Acts made in Parliament on the 10, 11, and 12 of *October*, before their Interruption, to be void and null to all intents and purposes, as if they had never been."

To this new Invention, how wild soever, they believed the People would be persuaded, with the Assistance of the Army, to pay a temporary Obedience, in hope of another settlement speedily to ensue. They agreed that the Number of this *Committee of Safety* should consist of three-and-twenty Persons; six or seven Officers of the Army, whereof *Fleetwood*, *Lambert* and *Desborough* were three; *Ireton*, Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Tichburn*, the two principal Officers of the Militia of the City, with four or five more Citizens of more private Names; but Men tried, and faithful to the Republic Interest, and not like to

give any countenance to Presbyterians (for they were very jealous of that Party generally) besides three or four others of those who had been the King's Judges, with *Warreston*, *Vane*, *Steel*, and *Whitlock*, whom they made Keeper of their Great-Seal. B O O K  
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Thus having chosen each other, and agreed that they should exercise the whole Legislative Power of the Nation, and proclaimed themselves *the Committee of Safety for the Kingdom*, and required all People to pay them Obedience, and issued out their Warrants for all things which they thought good for themselves, to which there appeared a general submission and acquiescence, that they might be sure to receive no disturbance from those of their own Tribe in any Parts, they sent Colonel *Cobbet* to *Scotland*, to persuade General *Monk* to a concurrence with them; and because they were not confident of him (there being great emulation between Him and *Lambert*) to work upon as many of his Officers as he could; there being many in that Army of whose Affections they were well assured; and, at the same time, they sent another Colonel into *Ireland*, to dispose the Army there to a submission to their Power and Authority. Cobbet sent  
into Scotland  
to Monk.  
  
And another  
to the Army  
in Ireland.

Before the Parliament was Routed, they discerned what *Lambert's* Intrigues would shortly produce; and therefore had writ to *Monk*, "that he would take care of his Army, lest it should be corrupted against him, which they knew was endeavouring;" and *Haslerig*, who had some Friendship with him, writ particularly to him "to continue firm to the Parliament;" and to assure him, "that before *Lambert* should be able to be near him to give him any

BOOK "trouble, he would give him other divertisement."

XVI. And some time after *Lambert* had acted that Violence upon the *Speaker*, so that they could meet no more, *Hasslerig*, *Walton*, and *Morley*, three of the Commissioners of the Government of the Army, went to *Portsmouth*; where Colonel *Whetham* the Governor was their Friend, and devoted to the Presbyterian-Republican Party; for that distinction was now grown amongst them; Others, and the most considerable of that Party, professing "that they much desired" Monarchical Government, and the Person of the "King, so that they might have him without Episcopacy, and enjoy the Lands of the Church;" which they had divided among them. These three were well received at *Portsmouth*; and that they might be without any disturbance there, the Governor turned all such Officers and Soldiers out of the Town, who were suspected to be, or might be made of the Party of the Army; and Colonel *Morley*, whose Interest was in *Stafford*, easily drew in enough of his Friends, to make them very secure in their Garrison; which the *Committee of Safety* thought would be quickly reduced, if all the rest of the Kingdom were at their Devotion; nor did the matter itself much trouble them; for they knew that *Hasslerig* would never be induced to serve the King, whose Interest only could break all their Measures.

But this open declaring of *Portsmouth* for the Parliament happened not till the following *December*. That which gave them real trouble was, that they received bold Letters from *Monk*, about the end of *October*; who presumed to censure, and find fault

Hasslerig,  
Walton and  
Morley go to  
Portsmouth.

Monk writes  
to the Officers



with what they had done, in using such force and violence to the Parliament, from whom they had all their Power and Authority; and shortly after they heard that he had possessed himself of *Berwick*. But that which troubled them most was, that as soon as *Cobbet* came into *Scotland*, he was committed close Prisoner to *Edinburgh*-Castle; and that *Monk* used extraordinary diligence to purge his Army, and turned all the Fanatics, and other Persons who were supposed by him to have any inclination to *Lambert* and his Party, both out of the Army, and the Kingdom; sending them under a Guard into *Berwick*, and from thence dismissing them into *England*, under the penalty of death, if they were ever after found in *Scotland*. This was an Alarm worthy of their fear, and evidence enough, that they were never to expect *Monk* to be of their Party: besides that they had always looked upon him as entirely devoted to the Person of *Cromwell*; otherwise, without obligation to any Party or Opinion, and more like to be seduced by the King, than any Man who had Authority in the three Kingdoms: therefore they resolved to send *Lambert*, with their whole Army into the North, that he might at least stop him in any march he should think of making; reserving only some Troops to guard themselves, and keep the Town quiet, and some others to send to *Portsmouth*, if not to reduce it, at least to hinder the Garrison there from making Incursions into the two Neighbour-Counties of *Sussex*, and *Hampshire*, where they had many Friends.

Whilst all preparations were making for the Army to march towards *Scotland*, the Committee of Safety

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XVI.

of the Army  
declaring for  
the Parlia-  
ment  
Possesses Ber-  
wick: Impri-  
sons Cobbet;  
and purges  
his Army of  
Fanatics.

*Lambert* sent  
against him.

B O O K resolved once more to try if they could induce *Monk*  
 XVI. to a conjunction with them ; and to that purpose they

They send  
 Clarges, &c.  
 to Monk.

Monk's an-  
 swer to them.

He appoints  
 three Com-  
 missioners to  
 treat with  
 the Officers of  
 the Army at  
 London.

sent to him two such Persons as they thought might be grateful to him ; of whom one was his Wife's Brother ; and after them some Officers of the Army, and two Independent Ministers, with offers of any thing he could desire of advantage to himself, or for any of his Friends. He received these Men with all imaginable civility and courtesy, making great professions " that he desired nothing more, than to unite " Himself and his Army with that of *England*, pro-  
 " vided that there might be a Lawful power, to  
 " which they might all be subject : but that the Force  
 " that had been used upon the Parliament, was an  
 " Action of such a Nature, that was destructive to  
 " all Government, and that it would be absolutely  
 " necessary to restore that to its Freedom, Rights,  
 " and Privileges ; which being done, he would use  
 " all the instance and credit he had to procure an Act  
 " of Pardon, and Oblivion, for all that had been done  
 " amiss ; and this would unite both Parliament and  
 " Army for the public Safety, which was apparently  
 " threatened and shaken by this disunion." He  
 added, " that he so much desired Peace and Union,  
 " and so little thought of using Force, that he would  
 " appoint three Officers of his Army, *Wilks*, *Clobery*,  
 " and *Knight*, to go to *London*, and treat with the  
 " Committee of Safety, of all particulars necessary there-  
 " unto." When the Persons sent from *London* gave  
 an Account of their reception, and of the great pro-  
 fessions the General made, and his resolution to send a  
 Committee to treat upon the Accommodation, the

*Committee of Safety* was very well pleased, and concluded that the fame of their Army's march had frightened him: so that, as they willingly embraced the Overture of a Treaty, they likewise appointed *Lambert* to hasten his March, and to make no stay, till he should come to *New-Castle*. All which he observed with great punctuality and expedition, his Army still increasing till he came thither.

B O O K  
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They at  
London  
accept of a  
Treaty.

General *Monk* was a Gentleman of a very good Extraction, of a very ancient Family in *Devonshire*, always very Loyally affected. Being a younger Brother, he entered early into the life and condition of a Soldier, upon that Stage where some of all *Europe* then acted, between the *Spaniard* and the *Dutch*; and had the reputation of a very good Foot-Officer in the Lord *Vere's* Regiment in *Holland*, at the time when he assigned it to the Command of *Colonel Goring*. When the first Troubles begun in *Scotland*, *Monk*, and many other Officers of the Nation, left the *Dutch* Service, and betook themselves to the Service of the King. In the beginning of the *Irish* Rebellion, he was sent thither, with the Command of the Lord *Leicester's* own Regiment of Foot (who was then Lieutenant of *Ireland*) and continued in that Service with singular reputation of courage, and conduct. When the War broke out in *England* between the King and the Parliament, he fell under some discountenance, upon a suspicion of an inclination to the Parliament: which proceeded from his want of bitterness in his discourses against them, rather than from any inclination towards them; as appeared by his behaviour at *Nantwich*, where he was taken Prisoner, and remained in

A particular  
account of  
General  
Monk.

**B O O K** the Tower till the end of the War. For though his  
**XVI.** behaviour had been such in *Ireland*, when the Transportation of the Regiment from thence, to serve the King in *England*, was in debate, that it was evident enough he had no mind his Regiment should be sent on that Expedition, and his Answer to the Lord of *Ormond* was so rough, and doubtful, that he thought not fit to trust him, but gave the Command of the Regiment to *Harry Warren*, the Lieutenant-Colonel of it, an excellent Officer, generally known, and exceedingly beloved where he was known; yet when those Regiments were sent to *Chester*, and there were others at the same time sent to *Bristol*, and with them *Monk* went under some Cloud and from *Bristol* to the King at *Oxford*, where he was known to many Persons of Quality (and his eldest Brother being at the same time most zealous in the King's Service in the West, and most useful) his professions were so sincere (he being, throughout his whole life, never suspected of dissimulation) that all Men there thought him very worthy of all trust; and the King was willing to send him into the West, where the Gentlemen had a great opinion of his ability to command. But he desired that he might serve with his old Friends and Companions; and so, with the King's leave, made all haste towards *Chester*; where he arrived the very day before the Defeat at *Nantwich*; and though his Lieutenant-Colonel was very desirous to give up the Command again to him, and to receive his Orders, he would by no means at that time take it, but chose to serve, as a Volunteer, in the first Rank, with a Pike in his hand; and was the next day, as was



said, taken Prisoner with the rest, and with most of the other Officers sent to *Hull*, and shortly after from thence to the Tower of *London*. B O O K  
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He was no sooner there, than the Lord *Lisle*, who had great kindness for him, and good Interest in the Parliament, with much importunity endeavoured to persuade him to take a Commission in that Service, and offered him a Command Superior to what he had ever had before; which he positively and disdainfully refused to accept, though the straits he suffered in Prison were very great, and he thought himself not kindly dealt with. that there was neither care for his Exchange, nor Money sent for his support. But there was all possible endeavour used for the first, by offering several Officers of the same Quality for his Exchange; which was always refused; there having been an Ordinance made, "that no Officer who had been Transported out of *Ireland*, should ever be exchanged;" so that most of them remained still in Prison with him in the Tower, and the rest in other Prisons; who all underwent the same hardships by the extreme necessity of the King's condition, which could not provide Money enough for their supply; yet all was done towards it that was possible.

When the War was at an end, and the King a Prisoner, *Cromwell* prevailed with *Monk* for his liberty and preferment, to engage himself again in the War of *Ireland*. And, from that time, *Monk* continued very firm to *Cromwell*; who was liberal, and bountiful to him, and took him into his entire confidence; and after he had put the Command of *Scotland* into his hands, he feared nothing from those Quarters; nor

**B O O K** was there any Man in either of the Armies, upon  
**XVI.** whose fidelity to himself *Cromwell* more depended. And those of his Western Friends, who thought best of him, thought it to no purpose to make any Attempt upon him, whilst *Cromwell* lived. But as soon as He was dead, *Monk* was generally looked upon as a Man more inclined to the King, than any other in great Authority, if he might discover it without too much loss or hazard. His Elder Brother had been entirely devoted to the King's Service, and all his Relations were of the same faith. He himself had no fumes of Fanaticism to turn his head, nor any credit with, or dependance upon any who were swayed by those trances.

He had a younger Brother, a Divine, who had a Parsonage in *Devonshire*, and had, through all the ill times, carried himself with singular Integrity; and, being a Gentleman of a good Family, was in great reputation with all those who constantly adhered to the King. Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and Sir *John Greenvil*, who had both Friendship for the General, and old acquaintance, and all confidence in his Brother, advised with him, "whether, since *Cromwell* was now gone, " and in all reason it might be expected that his death " would be attended with a general Revolution, by " which the King's Interest would be again disputed, " he did not believe, that the General might be " wrought upon, in a fit conjuncture, to serve the " King, in which, they thought, he would be sure to " meet with a universal concurrence from the whole " *Scottish Nation*." The honest Clergy-man thought the Overture so reasonable, and wished so heartily it

might be embraced, that he offered himself to make a Journey to his Brother into *Scotland*, upon pretence of a visit (there having been always a brotherly Affection performed between them) and directly to propose it to him. *Pollard* and *Greenvil* informed the King of this design; and believed well themselves of what they wished so much, and desired his Majesty's Approbation, and Instruction. The King had reason to approve it; and sent such directions as he thought most proper for such a Negotiation. Whereupon his Brother begun his Journey towards *Edinborough*, where the General received him well. But after he had staid some time there, and found an opportunity to tell him on what Errand he came, He soon dismissed him, without discovering to him any inclination to the business he came about, advising him "to return  
" no more to him with such Propositions."

In truth, at that time, the General had not given the least public proof that he had any thought, or purpose of contributing to the King's Restoration, which he might possibly think to be desperate. Some rather believed, that the disposition, which afterwards grew in him, towards it, did arise from divers Accidents, which fell out in the course of Affairs, and seemed even to oblige him to undertake that which in the end conduced so much to his greatness and glory: yet from that very time, his Brother's Inclinations to the King being known, and his Journey taken notice of, it was generally believed in *Scotland* that he had a purpose to serve the King; which his Majesty took no pains to disclaim either there, or in *England*.

Now upon the several sudden Changes in *England*,

**B O O K** and the Army's possessing itself of the entire Govern-  
**XVI.** ment. *Monk* saw he should be quickly over-run and  
 Monk's jea- destroyed by *Lambert's* greatness, of which he had  
 lously of Lam- always great emulation, if he did not provide for his  
 bert before own security. And therefore when he heard of his  
 this time. march towards the North, he used all inventions to  
 get time, by entering into Treaties, and in hope that  
 there would appear some other Party that would own  
 and avow the Parliament's Interest, as He had done :  
 nor did he then manifest to have more in his purpose,  
 than his own profit and honor, under the establish-  
 ment of that Government.

He calls to-  
 gether an  
 Assembly of  
 the Scottish  
 Nation.

His discourse  
 to them.

When he heard of *Lambert's* being passed *York* and  
 his making haste to *New-Castle*, and had purged out of  
 his Army all those whose affections and fidelity were  
 suspected by him, he called together an Assembly,  
 somewhat resembling a Convention of the States of  
*Scotland*; which he had subdued to all imaginable  
 tameness, though he had exercised no other power  
 over them than was absolutely necessary to reduce  
 that People to an entire submission to that Tyrannical  
 Yoke. In all his other carriage towards them, but  
 what was in order to that end, he was Friendly and  
 Companionable enough; and as he was feared by the  
 Nobility, and hated by the Clergy, so he was not  
 unloved by the Common-People, who received more  
 Justice, and less Oppression from him, than they had  
 been accustomed to under their own Lords. When  
 this Convention appeared before him, he told them,  
 " that he had received a Call from Heaven, and  
 " Earth, to march with his Army into *England*, for  
 " the better settlement of the Government there; and  
 " though



“ though he did not intend his absence should be  
 “ long, yet he foresaw that there might be some  
 “ disturbance of the Peace which they enjoyed; and  
 “ therefore he expected, and desired, that, in any  
 “ such occasion, they would be ready to join with  
 “ the Forces he left behind in their own defence.” In  
 the second place, which was indeed all he cared for  
 from them, he very earnestly pressed them, “ that they  
 “ would pay in a present Sum of Money out of the  
 “ Arrears of their Taxes, for supplying the necessities  
 “ of the Army, without which it could not well  
 “ march into *England*.”

From the time that he had settled his Government  
 in that Kingdom, he had showed more kindness to,  
 and used more familiarity with such Persons as were  
 most notorious for Affection to the King, as finding  
 them a more direct and punctual People than the rest;  
 and when these Men resorted to him upon this Con-  
 vention, though they could draw nothing from him  
 of promise, or intimation to any such purpose, yet he  
 was very well content they should believe that he  
 carried with him very good Inclinations to the King;  
 by which imagination of theirs, he received great  
 Advantage: for they payed him the Arrears of a  
 twelve Months Tax over the Kingdom; which com-  
 plied with his wish, and partly enabled him to draw  
 his Army together. And after he had assigned those  
 whom he thought fit to leave behind him, and after-  
 wards put them under the Command of Major-Ge-  
 neral *Morgan*, he marched with the rest to *Berwick*;  
 where a good part of His Horse and Foot expected  
 him; having refused to ratify the Treaty signed by

**B O O K** his Commissioners at *London*, and committed Colonel  
**XVI.** *Wilks*, one of them, upon his return to *Scotland*, for  
 having consented to something prejudicial to him, and  
 expressly contrary to his Instructions. However he  
 desired to gain farther time, and agreed to another  
 Treaty to be held at *New-Castle*; which, though he  
 knew it would be governed by *Lambert*, was like not  
 to be without some benefit to himself, because it  
 would keep up the opinion, in the *Committee of Safety*,  
 that he was inclined to an accommodation of Peace.

*Lambert*  
 comes with  
 his Army to  
*New-Castle*  
 towards  
 the end of  
 November.

It was towards the end of *November*, that *Lambert*  
 with his Army arrived at *New-Castle*, where he found  
 the Officers and Soldiers whom *Monk* had cashiered;  
 and who, he persuaded the People had deserted *Monk*,  
 for his infidelity to the Common-wealth, and that  
 most of those, who yet stayed with him, would do so  
 too, as soon as he should be within distance to receive  
 them. But he now found his confidence had carried  
 him too far, and that he was at too great a distance to  
 give that relief to his *Committee of Safety*, which it was  
 like to stand in need of. *Haslerig* and *Morley* were now  
 looked upon, as the Persons invested with the  
 Authority of Parliament, whose Interest was support-  
 ed by them; and the Officer, who was sent by the *Com-  
 mittee of Safety* to restrain them in *Portsmouth*, or rather  
 to restrain Persons from resorting to them, found him-  
 self deserted by more than half his Soldiers; who de-  
 clared "that they would serve the Parliament," and  
 so went into *Portsmouth*; and another Officer, who  
 was sent with a stronger Party to second them, disco-  
 vering, or fomenting the same Affections in his  
 Soldiers, very frankly carried them to the same place:

The Soldiers  
 before *Portsmouth*  
 re-  
 velted to it.

so that they were now grown too Numerous to be contained within that Garrison, but were Quartered to be in readiness to march whither their Generals, *Haslerig* and *Morley*, would conduct them. B O O K  
XVI.

The City took new courage from hence; and what the Masters durst not publicly own, the Apprentices did, their dislike, of the present Government; and flocking together in great Multitudes, declared, "that they would have a free Parliament." And though Colonel *Hewson* (a bold Fellow, who had been an ill Shoemaker, and afterwards Clerk to a Brewer of small Beer) who was left to guard the *Committee of Safety*, suppressed that Commotion by marching into the City, and killing some of the Apprentices, yet the loss of that blood inflamed the City the more against the Army; which, they said, "was only kept " on foot to murder the Citizens." And it was said, they caused a Bill of Indictment to be prepared against *Hewson* for those Murders. The Common-Council appeared every day more refractory, and refused to concur in any thing that was proposed to them by the *Committee of Safety*; which begun to be universally abhorred, as like to be the Original of such another Tyranny as *Cromwell* had erected, since it wholly depended upon the Power and Spirit of the Army; though on the other hand, the Committee protested and declared to them, "that there should be a Parliament called to meet together in *February* next, under such Qualifications and Restrictions, as might be sure to exclude such Persons who would deny " them." But this gave no satisfaction, every Man remembering the Parliament that had been packed by *Cromwell*. The City Appre-  
ntices  
rise, and  
the present  
Hewson.

## BOOK

## XVI.

Lawson and  
the Fleet de-  
clare for the  
Parliament,  
and come into  
the River.

But that which broke the heart of *the Committee of Safety*, was the revolt of their Favorite Vice-Admiral *Lawson*, a Man at that time appearing at least as much Republican, as any amongst them; as much an Independent, as much an Enemy to the Presbyterians and to the Covenant, as Sir *Harry Vane* himself; and a great dependent upon Sir *Harry Vane*; and one whom they had raised to that Command in the Fleet, that they might be sure to have the Sea-men still at their devotion. This Man, with his whole Squadron, came into the River, and declared for the Parliament; which was so unexpected, that they would not believe it; but sent Sir *Harry Vane*, and two others of great intimacy with *Lawson*, to confer with him; who, when they came to the Fleet, found Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and two others, Members of the Parliament, who had so fully prepossessed him, that he was deaf to all their Charms; and told them, "that he would submit to no Authority but that of the Parliament."

Hastlerig and  
Morley march  
from Portsm-  
outh to-  
wards London.

Upon the Fame of this, *Hastlerig* and *Morley* resolved with their Troops to leave *Portsmouth*, and to march towards *London*, where their Friends now prevailed so much. And the news of this march raised new thoughts in those Soldiers who had been left by *Lambert* to execute any Orders, which they should receive from *the Committee of Safety*. The Officers of these Regiments had been cashiered by the Council of Officers, or *the Committee of Safety*, for adhering to the Parliament; and their Commands having been given to other Men, who had been discountenanced by the Parliament, the Regiments for a time appeared



as much confirmed in the Interest of the Army, as **B O O K**  
 could be wished. But these Cashiered Officers, upon **XVI.**  
 so great revolutions in the City and the Navy, and the  
 news of the Advance of *Hastlerig* and *Morley*, resolved  
 to confer with their old Soldiers, and try whether  
 they had as much Credit with them as their new  
 Officers; and found so much encouragement. that, at  
 a time appointed, they put themselves into the heads  
 of their Regiments, and marched with them into the  
 Field; whence, after a short conference together, and  
 renewing vows to each other never more to desert  
 the Parliament, they all marched into *Chancery Lane*  
 to the House of the Speaker; and professed their re-  
 solution to live and die with the Parliament, and  
 never more to swerve from their Fidelity to it.

The Soldiers  
 in London  
 resolve to  
 restore the  
 Parliament;  
 and wait on  
 the Speaker.

*Lambert*, upon the first news of the froward Spirit  
 in the City, had sent back *Desborough's* Regiment;  
 which was now marched as near *London* as *St. Albans*;  
 where, hearing what their fellows at *Westminster* with  
 whom they were to join, had done, they resolved not  
 to be the last in their Submission; but declared that  
 they likewise were for the Parliament; and gave the  
 Speaker notice of their Obedience. In all these several  
 Tergiversations of the Soldiers, General *Fleetwood*  
 remained still in consultations with the Committee  
 of *Safety*; and when any Intelligence was brought  
 of any murmur amongst the Soldiers, by which a  
 revolt might ensue, and he was desired to go amongst  
 them to confirm them, he would fall upon his Knees  
 to his Prayers, and could hardly be prevailed with to  
 go to them. And when he was amongst them, and in  
 the middle of any discourse, he would invite them all

*Desborough's*  
 Regiment  
 revolt to the  
 Parliament  
 The behaviour  
 of *Fleetwood*  
 at this time.

to Prayers, and put himself upon his Knees before them: and when some of his Friends importuned him to appear more vigorous in the Charge he had, without which they must be all destroyed, they could get no other answer from him, than "that God had " spit in his face, and would not hear him:" so that Men ceased to wonder why *Lambert* had preferred him to the Office of General, and been content with the second Command for himself.

*Lenthall* the Speaker, upon this new Declaration of the Soldiers, recovered his Spirit, and went into the City, conferred with the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, and declared to them, "that the Parliament would " meet (though not immediately) within very few " days." For, as the Members were not many, who were alive, and suffered to meet as the Parliament, so they were now dispersed into several places. Then he went to the Tower, and, by his own Authority, removed the Lieutenant, who had been confirmed there by the *Committee of Safety*; and put Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, and other Members of the Parliament, into the Government and Command of the Tower.

All things being in this good Order, He and the Members met again together at *Westminster*, on December the 26<sup>th</sup>, and assumed the Government of the three Kingdoms, out of which they had been twice before cast, with so much reproach and infamy. As soon as they came together, they repealed their Act against the payment of Excise and Customs; and put those Collections into the State they had been formerly in, that they might be sure not to be without Money to pay their Profelyte-Forces, and to carry on their

other Expenses. Then they appointed Commissioners to direct the Quarters into which the Army should be put; and made an Order, that all the Troops under the Command of *Lambert*, without sending any direction to him, should repair to those Quarters to which they were assigned.

B O O K  
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They order  
Lambert's  
Troops to  
their several  
Quarters.

This Man was now in a disconsolate condition: as *Monk* approached nearer to him, very many of his Soldiers deserted him, and went to the other. The Lord *Fairfax* had raised Forces, and possessed himself of *York*, without declaring any thing of his purpose. And this last Order of the Parliament so entirely stripped *Lambert* of his Army, that there remained not with him above one hundred Horse; all the rest returned to their Quarters with all quietness and resignation; and himself was some time after committed to the Tower. The rest of the Officers of the Army, who had been formerly Cashiered by the Parliament, and had resumed their Commands that they might break it, were again dismissed from their Charges, and committed Prisoners to their own Houses. Sir *Harry Vane*, and divers other Members of the House who had concurred with the Committee of Safety, were likewise confined to their own Houses: so that the Parliament seemed now again possessed of a more absolute Authority than ever it had been, and to be without any danger of opposition, or contradiction.

Lambert's  
Army separates;  
and He is committed  
to the Tower.  
*Vane*, and  
Others who  
had concurred  
with the  
Committee  
of Safety,  
confined to  
their own  
Houses.

The other Changes and Fluctuations had still administered some hopes to the King, and the daily breaking out of new Animosities amongst the Chief Ministers of the former Mischiefs, disposed Men to

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believe that the Government might at last rest upon the old foundation. Men expected, that a very sharp Engagement between *Lambert* and *Monk* might make their parts of the Army for ever after irreconcilable, and that all Parties would be at last obliged to consent to a new Parliament; in the Election whereof there was a reasonable belief, that the general temper of the People would chuse Sober and Wise Men, who would rather bind up the Wounds which had been already made, than endeavour to widen them. *The Committee of Safety* had neither received the Reverence, nor inculcated the Fear, which any Government must do, that was to last any time. But this surprising Resurrection of the Parliament, that had been so often exploded, so often dead and buried, and was the only Image of Power that was most formidable to the King and his Party, seemed to pull up all their hopes by the Roots, and was interpreted by that Party, as an Act of Providence to establish their Monstrous Murders and Usurpation. And it may be justly said, and transmitted as a truth to Posterity, that there were very few Men, who bore a part in these Changes and giddy Revolutions, who had the least purpose or thought to contribute towards the King's Restoration, or who wished well to his Interest; they who did so, being so totally suppressed and dispirited, that they were only at gaze, what light might break out of this darkness, and what order Providence might produce out of this Confusion. This was the true State of Affairs when the King returned from *Fuentarabia* to *Brussels*, or within few days after; and therefore it is no wonder, that

Upon this Return of the Parliament the King's Affairs seemed more desperate.

The Condition of the King at Brussels.



there was that dejection of Spirit upon those about his Majesty; and that the Duke of York, who saw so little hope of returning into *England*, was well pleased with the Condition that was offered him in *Spain*, and that his Servants were impatient to find him in possession of it.

Whilst the divisions had continued in the Army, and the Parliament seemed entirely deposed and laid aside, and no body imagined a possibility of any composition without Blood, the Cardinal himself, as is said before, and the *Spanish* Ministers, seemed ready and prepared to advance any design of the King's. But when they saw all those contentions and raging Animosities composed, or suppressed, without one broken head, and those very Men again in possession of the Government and the Army, who had been so scornfully rejected and trampled upon, and who had it now in their power, as well as their purpose, to level all those pre-eminences which had overlooked them, they looked upon the Parliament as more securely settled against Domestic disturbances, and much more formidably, with reference to their Neighbours, than it had been under *Cromwell* himself; and thought of nothing more, than how to make advantageous and firm Alliances with it.

There remained only within the King's own breast some faint hope (and God knows it was very faint) that *Monk's* march into *England* might yet produce some alteration. His Majesty had a secret correspondence with some principal Officers in his Army, who were much trusted by him, and had promised great Services; and it was presumed that they would

**B O O K** undertake no such perilous Engagement without His  
**XVI.** privity and connivance. Besides, it might be expected from his judgment, that whatever present conditions the governing Party might give him, for the Service he had done, he could not but conclude, that they would be always jealous of the Power they saw he was possessed of, and that an Army that had marched so far barely upon his word, would be as ready to march to any place, or for any purpose, he would Conduct them. And it was evident enough that the Parliament resolved to new-model their Army, and to have no Man in any such extent of Command, as to be able to control Their Counsels. Then his Majesty knew they were jealous of his Fidelity, how much soever they courted him at that time; and therefore *Monk* would think himself obliged to provide for his own Safety and Security.

But, I say, these were but faint hopes, grounded upon such probabilities as despairing Men are willing to entertain. The truth is, those Officers had honest Inclinations; and, as Wise Men, had concluded, that, from those frequent Shuffles, some Game at last might fall out that might prove to the King's Advantage, and so were willing to bespeak their own welcome by an early application; which, in regard of the Persons trusted by them, they concluded would be attended with no danger. But it never appeared they ever gave the General the least cause to imagine they had any such Affection; and if they had, it is likely they had paid dearly for it. And it was the King's great happiness, that the General never owned his purpose to serve his Majesty, till it fell to be in his power, and indeed was the best thing in his power

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to do. If he had declared his resolution sooner, he had been destroyed himself; the whole Machine being so infinitely above his strength, that it could be only moved by a Divine hand; and it is Glory enough to his Memory, that he was God's Instrument in bringing those mighty things to pass, which, undoubtedly, no one Man living had, of himself, either Wisdom enough to foresee, or Understanding to contrive, or Courage to attempt, and execute.

When the Parliament found themselves at so much ease, and so much without apprehension of farther insecurity, they heartily wished that General *Monk* was again in his old Quarters in *Scotland*. But as he continued his march towards *London*, without expecting their Orders, so they knew not how to Command him to return, whom they had sent for to assist them, without seeing him, and giving him thanks and reward for his great Service: yet they sent to him their desire, "that a good part of his Forces might be sent back to *Scotland*;" and He, having sent back as many as he knew would be sufficient for any Work they could have to do in those Northern parts, continued his march with an Army of about five thousand Foot and Horse, consisting of such Persons in whose Affections to him he had full Confidence. When he came to *York*, he found that City in the possession of the Lord *Fairfax*; who received him with open Arms, as if he had drawn those Forces together, and seized upon that place, to prevent the Army's possessing it, and to make *Monk's* Advance into *England* the less interrupted.

*Monk marches towards London.*

*The Parliament desire, that part of his Forces may be sent back to Scotland.*

*Monk comes to York.*

The truth is, that, upon a Letter from the King, The Lord

**B O O K** delivered to *Fairfax* by Sir *Horatio Townsend*, and  
**XVI.** with his sole privity, and upon a presumption that  
 Fairfax's part General *Monk* brought good Affections with him for  
 in this whole his Majesty's Service, that Lord had called together  
 business. some of his old disbanded Officers and Soldiers, and  
 many principal Gentlemen of the Country, and  
 marched in the head of them into *York*, some time after  
 that *Lambert* was passed towards *New-Castle*, with a  
 full resolution to declare for the King; but when he  
 could not afterwards discover, upon conference with  
*Monk*, that he had any such thought. he satisfied him-  
 self with the Testimony of his own Conscience, and  
 presently dismissed his Troops, being well contented  
 with having, in the head of the principal Gentlemen  
 of that large County, presented their desires to the  
 General. first in Person, and afterwards in Writing,  
 " that he would be instrumental to restore the Nation  
 " to Peace and Security, and to the enjoying those  
 " Rights and Liberties, which by the Law were due  
 " to them, and of which they had been robbed and  
 " deprived by so many years distractions; and that,  
 " in order thereunto, he would prevail either for the  
 " restoring those Members which had been excluded  
 " in the year 1648 by Force and Violence, that they  
 " might exercise that Trust the Kingdom had reposed  
 " in them; or that a free and full Parliament might  
 " be called by the Votes of the People; to which all  
 " Subjects had a Right by their Birth."

Addressees to  
 Monk from  
 all Counties  
 as he passed.  
 The City that  
 to him by

The principal Persons of all Counties through  
 which the General passed, flocked to him in a Body  
 with Addresses to the same purpose. The City of  
*London* sent a Letter to him by their Sword-Bearer as



far as to *Morpeth*, to offer their Service; and all concluded for a free Parliament, legally chosen by the free Votes of the People. He received all with much civility, and few words; took all occasions publicly to declare "that nothing should shake his fidelity to the present Parliament;" yet privately assured those, who he thought it necessary should hope well, "that he would procure a free Parliament:" so that every body promised himself that which he most wished.

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their Sword-  
Bearer to the  
same purpose.  
His manner  
of receiving  
these Ad-  
dresses.

The Parliament was far from being confident that *Monk* was above temptation: the manner of his march with such a Body, his receiving so many Addresses from the People, and his treating Malignants so civilly, startled them much; and though his Professions of fidelity to the Parliament, and referring all determinations to Their Wisdom, had a good Aspect towards them, yet they feared that he might observe too much how generally odious they were grown to the People, which might lessen his reverence towards them. To prevent this as much as might be, and to give some check to that licence of Addresses, and resort of Malignants, they sent two of their Members of most credit with them, *Scot* and *Robinson*, under pretence of giving their thanks to him for the Service he had done, to continue and be present with him, and to discountenance, and reprehend any boldness that should appear in any Delinquents. But this served but to draw more Affronts upon them; for those Gentlemen who were civilly used by the General, would not bear any disrespect from those of whose Persons they had all Contempt; and for the

The Parlia-  
ment sends  
*Scot* and  
*Robinson*  
to meet him.

**B O O K** Authority of those who sent them, had no kind of  
**XVI.** reverence. As soon as the City knew of the deputation  
 those two Members, they likewise sent four of their  
 principal Citizens, to perform the same Compliments,  
 and to confirm him in his inclinations to a free Par-  
 liament, as the remedy all Men desired.

At St. Albans  
 he sent to the  
 Parliament to  
 have the other  
 Regiments  
 removed out  
 of Town.

He continued his march with very few halts, till  
 he came to St. *Albans*. There he stopped for some  
 days; and sent to the Parliament, "that he had some  
 apprehension that those Regiments and Troops of  
 the Army who had formerly deserted them, though  
 for the present they were returned to their obe-  
 dience, would not live peaceably with his Men;"  
 and therefore desired that all the Soldiers (except one  
 or two Regiments, which he named) "who were then  
 quartered in the *Strand*, *Westminster*, or other  
 Suburbs of the City, might be presently removed,  
 and sent to more distant Quarters, that there might  
 be room for his Army." This Message was unex-  
 pected, and exceedingly perplexed them; and made  
 them see their Fate would still be under the force and  
 awe of an Army. However they found it necessary  
 to comply; and sent their Orders to all Soldiers to  
 depart; which, with the reason and ground of their  
 resolution, was so disdainfully received, that a Mutiny  
 did arise amongst the Soldiers; and the Regiment  
 that was Quartered in *Somerſet-Houſe*, expreſsly reſu-  
 ſed to obey thoſe Orders; ſo that there were like to be  
 new Uproars. But their Officers, who would have  
 been glad to inflame them upon ſuch an occaſion,  
 were under reſtraint, or abſent: and ſo at laſt all was  
 well compoſed, and Officers and Soldiers removed

The Parlia-  
 ment gives  
 Orders  
 accordingly.

to the Quarters assigned them, with animosity enough against those who were to succeed them in their old ones. And in the beginning of *February*, General *Monk* with his Army marched through the City into the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, where it was Quartered; his own Lodgings being provided for him in *White-Hall*.

B O O K  
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Monk marches  
in about the  
beginning of  
February.

He was shortly after conducted to the Parliament. There he had a Chair appointed for him to sit in; and the Speaker made him a Speech to this effect, "that though it was God, and not Man, who had done this great work, and ought to have the Glory of it; yet the Influence of that Glory extended to Him the Instrument, as a reward of his prudent and wise Conduct: that when their Friends had left them, and there was a great defection in duty and trust, so that the whole Nation seemed to be exposed to the utmost ruin; they discerned, as the Prophet did, a little Cloud afar off, and in His hand which had dispersed the Miseries of these Nations, and was become a glorious Mercy to them all: that the House had a true resentment of his Service, and returned their hearty thanks to Him, and all his Officers and Soldiers."

He is con-  
ducted to the  
Parliament  
and compli-  
mented by  
the Speaker.

The General was not a Man of Eloquence or Volubility of Speech; but after having thanked them, for the honor they had done him for but doing his duty; he told them, that, in his march from *Scotland*, several Applications, with numerous Subscriptions, had been made to him, for a full and free Parliament, for admittance of the secluded Members without any previous Oath or Engagement;

Monk's Reply.

BOOK XVI. “ and that this Parliament would determine their Sitting: to all which he had answered, “ that they were “ now a free Parliament; and that they had voted to “ fill up their House, and then they would be a full “ Parliament; and that they had already determined “ their Sitting. But as for the secluded Members, “ this Parliament had already given judgment in it, “ in which all People ought to acquiesce; and that “ to admit any Members to sit in Parliament, without “ a previous Oath to preserve the Government in “ being, was never done in *England*. But now he “ craved pardon to say to themselves, that the less “ Oaths of Engagements were imposed, their Settlement would be the sooner attained to: that He “ knew, all the sober Gentry would close with them, “ if they might be tenderly and gently used: that it “ was their common Concernment to amplify, not “ to lessen, their Interest and to be careful that neither “ the Cavalier nor the Fanatic Party should have “ yet a share in the Civil, or Military Power.”

The rest of his Speech concerned *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. And all being spoken with more than his natural warmth, there were some Expressions in it which they disliked. But others gave them some ease, and hope that he would be faithful, though inwardly they heartily wished that he was again in *Scotland*, and that they had been left to contend with the Malignity of their old Army; and they watched for some occasion that he might manifest his fidelity and resignation to them. or give them just occasion to suspect and question it.

The late confusions and interruptions of all public receipts



receipts had wholly emptied their Coffers, out of which the Army, and all other expenses, were to be supplied. And though the Parliament had, upon their coming together again, renewed their Ordinances for all Collections and Payments, yet Money came in very slowly; and the People generally had so little reverence for their Legislators, that they gave very slow obedience to their directions: so that they found it necessary, for their present supply, till they might by degrees make themselves more universally obeyed, to require the City presently to collect and bring in the Arrears of their Taxes, and in the mean time to borrow a considerable Sum of Money of them; which could not be easily done but by the advice, and with the consent of the Common-Council; that is, it could not be levied and collected orderly, and peaceably, without their distribution.

The Common-Council was constituted of such Persons as were weary of the Parliament, and would in no degree submit to, or comply with any of their Commands. They did not only utterly refuse to consent to what was demanded, but, in the debate of it, excepted against the Authority, and, upon the matter, declared, "that they would never submit to any Imposition that was not granted by a free and lawful Parliament." And it was generally believed, that they had assumed this courage upon some confidence they had in the General; and the Apprehension of this, made the Parliament to be in the greater perplexity and distraction. This refusal would immediately have put an end to their Empire; they therefore

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The Common  
Council of the  
City are refrac-  
tory to the  
Parliament.

**B O O K** resolved upon this occasion to make a full Experiment  
**xv.** of their own power, and of their General's obedience.

The Parliament having received a full information from those Aldermen, and others, whose Interest was bound up with theirs, of all that had passed at the Common Council, and of the seditious discourses and expressions made by several of the Citizens, referred it to the consideration of the Council of State, what was fit to be done towards the Rebellious City, to reduce them to that submission which they ought to pay to the Parliament. The Council of State deliberated upon the matter, and returned their Advice to the Parliament, "that some part of  
 " the Army might be sent into the City, and re-  
 " main there, to preserve the peace thereof, and of  
 " the Common-wealth, and to reduce it to the obe-  
 " dience of the Parliament. In Order thereunto, and  
 " for their better humiliation, they thought it con-  
 " venient that the Posts and Chains should be remo-  
 " ved from, and out of the several Streets of the City;  
 " and that the Portcullises, and Gates of the City,  
 " should be taken down and broken." Over and above this, they named ten or eleven Persons, who had been the principal Conductors in the Common-Council, all Citizens of great reputation; and advised  
 " that they should be apprehended and committed  
 " to Prison, and that thereupon a new Common-  
 " Council might be erected, that would be more at  
 " their Devotion."

Monk sent  
 into the City

This round advice was embraced by the Parliament; and they had now a fit occasion to make experiment of the courage and fidelity of their General, and commanded him to march into the City with his

Army, and to execute all those particulars which they thought so necessary to their Service; and He as readily executed their Commands; led his Army into the Town on *Feb.* the 9<sup>th</sup>, neglected the entreaties and prayers of all who applied to him (whereof there were many who believed he meant better towards them) caused as many, as he could, of those who were so proscribed to be apprehended, and sent them to the Tower; and, with all the circumstances of contempt, pulled down and broke the Gates and Portcullises, to the confusion and consternation of the whole City; and having thus exposed it to the scorn and laughter of all who hated it, he returned Himself to *White-Hall*, and his Army to their former Quarters. And by this last Act of compliance he frustrated the present hopes of those who had expected better from him, and confirmed his Masters, that they could not be too confident of his obedience to their most extravagant Injunctions. And many at that time feared, that if the Parliament had cultivated this tame resignation of his, with any temper and discretion, by preparing his consent and approbation to their proceedings, they might have found a full condescension from him, at least no opposition to all their other Counsels. But they were so infatuated with pride and insolence, that they could not discern the way to their own preservation.

Whilst He was executing this their Tyranny upon the City, They were contriving how to lessen his Power and Authority, and resolved to join others with him in the Command of the Army; and, upon that very day, they received a Petition, which they

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to reduce it  
to obedience.Returns to  
White-Hall.The Parlia-  
ment resolve

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to join others  
in Commission  
with him,  
and receive  
a Petition by  
Barebone from  
the Fanatics.

had fomented, presented to the Parliament by a Man notorious in those times, and who hath been formerly mentioned, *Praise-God Barebone*, in the head of a crowd of Sectaries. The Petition begun with all the imaginable bitterness and reproaches upon the Memory of the late King, and against the Person of the present King, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry of the Kingdom, which adhered to him; the utter Extirpation of all which it pressed with great Acrimony. It took notice of many discourses of calling a new Parliament, at least of admitting those Members to sit in the present Parliament, who had been excluded in the year 1648; "either of which," the Petitioners said, would prove the inevitable "destruction of all the Godly in the Land:" and therefore they besought them with all earnestness, "that no Person whatsoever might be admitted to "the exercise of any Office or Function in the State, "or in the Church, no not so much as to teach a "School, who did not first take the Oath of Abjuration of the King, and of all his Family, and that he "would never submit to the Government of any One "single Person whatsoever; and that whosoever "should presume so much as to propose, or mention "the Restoration of the King in Parliament, or any "other place, should be adjudged guilty of, and "condemned for High-Treason."

This Petition was received with great approbation by the House, their Affection much applauded, and the thanks of the Parliament very solemnly returned by the Speaker: all which information the General received at *White-Hall*, when he returned out of the

Monk's  
chief Officers



City; and was presently attended by his chief Officers; who, with open mouths, inveighed against the proceedings of the Parliament, "their manifest ingratitude to him, and the indignity offered to him, in giving such countenance to a rabble of infamous Varlets, who desired to set the whole Kingdom in a flame, to comply with their Fanatic and mad Enthusiasms; and that the Parliament would never have admitted such an infamous Address with approbation, except they had first resolved upon His ruin and destruction; which he was assuredly to look for, if he did not prevent it by his Wisdom, and Sagacity;" and thereupon told him of the under-hand Endeavours which were used to work upon the Affections of the Soldiers.

The General had been prepared, by the conferences of *Scot* and *Robinson* in the march, to expect, that, as soon as he came to the Parliament, he must take the Oath of Abjuration of the King and his Family. And therefore they had advised him "to offer the taking it himself, before it should be proposed to him, as a matter that would confirm all Men in an entire confidence in him." When he came to the Parliament, they forbore, that day, to mention it, being a day dedicated only to caress him, and to give him thanks, in which it could not be seasonable to mingle any thing of distrust. But they meant roundly to have pressed him to it, if this last opportunity, which they looked upon as a better earnest of his fidelity, had not fallen out; and they thought he had not then taken any such resolution, as would have made him pause in the giving them that satisfaction. But being

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discontented  
at this neglect  
of the Parlia-  
ment of their  
General.

**B O O K** now awakened by this Alarm from his Officers, and  
**XVI** the temper they were in, and his flegm a little curdled,  
 This awakens him. he began to think himself in danger; and that this  
 body of Men, that was called the Parliament, had  
 not reputation enough to preserve themselves, and  
 those who adhered to them. He had observed through-  
 out the Kingdom, as he marched, how despicable  
 they were in the estimation of all Men, who gave  
 them no other term or appellation but the *Rump*, as  
 the sag-end of a Carcase long since expired. All that  
 night was spent in consultation with his Officers; nor  
 did he then form any other design than so to unite  
 his Army to him that they might not leave him in  
 any resolution he should think fit to take.

He marches  
 again into  
 the City, and  
 sends an  
 expostulatory  
 Letter to the  
 Parliament

In the morning, which was very soon after he had  
 broken the Gates and the Hearts of the City, he called  
 his Army again together, and marched with it into  
*London*, taking up his own Quarters at an Alderman's  
 House. At the same time he left *White-Hall*, he sent a  
 Letter to the Parliament, in which he roundly took  
 notice of "their unreasonable, unjust, and unpolitic  
 " proceedings; of their abetting and countenancing  
 " wicked and unchristian Tenets in reference to  
 " Religion, and such as would root out the practice  
 " of any Religion; of their underhand corresponding  
 " with those very Persons whom they had declared  
 " to be Enemies, and who had been principally in-  
 " strumental in all the affronts and indignities they  
 " had undergone, in and after their dissolution."  
 Thereupon he advised them in such Terms as they  
 could not but understand for the most peremptory  
 Command, "that, in such a time (a time prescribed

“ in his Letter ) they would issue out Writs for a new  
 “ Parliament, that so their own sitting might be  
 “ determined; which was the only Expedient, that  
 “ could return Peace and Happiness to the Kingdom,  
 “ and which both the Army and Kingdom expected  
 “ at their hands.” This Letter was no sooner delivered to the House, than it was Printed, and carefully published, and dispersed throughout the City, to the end that they who had been so lately and so wofully disappointed, might see how thoroughly he was Embarked, and so entertain no new Jealousies of him.

B O O K  
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 His Letter to  
 the Parlia-  
 ment printed  
 and dispersed.

After he had dined with the Lord-Mayor, and disposed his Army in such a manner and order as he thought fit, he desired Him, and the Aldermen, with the Common-Council, to meet him at the *Guild-Hall*; where, after many Excuses for the work of the other day, they plighted their Troth each to other in such a manner, for the perfect Union and adhering to each other for the future, that, as soon as they came from thence, the Lord-Mayor attended the General to his Lodgings, and all the Bells of the City proclaimed, and testified to the Town and Kingdom, that the Army and the City were of one mind. And as soon as the Evening came, there was a continued light of Bon-fires throughout the City and Suburbs, with such an universal Exclamation of Joy, as had never been known, and cannot be expressed, with such ridiculous signs of Scorn and Contempt of the Parliament, as testified the no-regard, or rather the notable detestation they had of it; there being scarce a Bon-fire at which they did not roast a Rump, and pieces of flesh made like one; “ which,” they said, “ was for

He meets the  
 Lord-Mayor  
 and Common-  
 Council, ex-  
 cuses what  
 was past, and  
 promises to  
 stand by them,  
 and they by  
 him. Great  
 rejoicing in  
 the City upon  
 it.

**BOOK** “ the Celebration of the Funeral of the Parliament : ”  
**XVI.** and there can be no invention of fancy, wit, or ribaldry, that was not that Night exercised to defame the Parliament, and to magnify the General.

In such a huddle and mixture of loose People of all Conditions, and such a transport of Affections, it could not be otherwise but that some Men would drink the King's Health ; which was taken no notice of ; nor was it known that one Person of Condition did once presume to mention him. All this, how much soever it amazed and distracted the Parliament, did not so dishearten them, but that they continued still to sit, and proceeded in all things with their usual confidence. They were not willing to despair of recovering their General again to them ; and, to that purpose, they sent a Committee to treat with him, and to make all such proffers to him as they conceived were most like to comply with his Ambition. The entertainment he gave this Committee was the engaging them in a conference with another Committee of the excluded Members, to the end that he might be satisfied by hearing both, how one could have right to sit there as a Parliament, and the other be excluded : and when he had heard them all, he made no scruple to declare, “ that in justice the excluded Members ought to be admitted before the calling another Parliament, and the dissolution of this.”

After He had put the City into the posture they desired ; and found no danger threatened him from thence, he returned again to his Quarters in *White-Hall*, and disposed his Army to those Posts which he

The Parliament sent some Members to treat with him. He engaged them in a conference with some excluded Members.

He returns to White-Hall :



judged most convenient. He then sent for the Members of the Parliament to come to him, and many others who had been Excluded, and lamented "the sad Condition the Kingdom was in, which he principally imputed to the disunion, and divisions, which had arisen in Parliament among those who were faithful to the Common-wealth: that he had had many Conferences with them together, and was satisfied by those Gentlemen, who had been Excluded, of their Integrity; and therefore he had desired this Conference between them, that he might communicate his own thoughts to them; in doing whereof, that he might not be mistaken in his Delivery, or misapprehended in his Expressions, as he had lately been, he had put what he had a mind to say in writing;" which he Commanded his Secretary to read to them: and was as follows.

B O O K

XVI.

Sends for  
Members of  
both Parties.He delivers  
his mind to  
them in a  
paper.

" Gentlemen,

" You are not, I hope, ignorant, what care and  
endeavours have been used, and means essayed, for  
healing the breaches of our divisions amongst our-  
selves; and that in order thereunto divers Confer-  
ences have been procured between you, though to  
small effect; yet having at length received fuller  
satisfaction, from those worthy Gentlemen that  
were secluded, than formerly; I was bold to put  
you all to the trouble of this meeting, that I might  
open myself to you all, even with more freedom  
than formerly: but lest I might be misapprehended  
or mistaken, as of late it befel me, I have committed  
to writing the Heads of what I intended to

B O O K “ discourse to you, and desire it may be read openly  
XVI. “ to you all.”

“ Gentlemen,

“ It appears unto me, by what I have heard from  
“ You and the whole Nation, that the Peace and  
“ happy Settlement of these bleeding Nations, next  
“ under God, lieth in Your hands. And when I con-  
“ sider that Wisdom, Piety, and Self-denial, which I  
“ have reason to be confident, lodgeth in you, and  
“ how great a share of the Nations Sufferings will fall  
“ upon you, in case the Lord deny us now a settle-  
“ ment, I am in very good hopes, there will be found  
“ in you all, such melting Bowels towards these poor  
“ Nations, and towards one another, that you will  
“ become Healers, and makers up, of all its woful  
“ Breaches. And that such an opportunity may  
“ clearly appear to be in Your hands, I thought  
“ good to assure you, and that in the presence of God,  
“ that I have nothing before my Eyes but God’s  
“ Glory, and the Settlement of these Nations upon  
“ Common-wealth-Foundations. In pursuit whereof  
“ I shall think nothing too dear; and for my Own  
“ particular, I shall throw myself down at Your Feet  
“ to be any thing or nothing in order to these great  
“ Ends. As to the way of future Settlement, far be it  
“ from Me to impose any thing; I desire you may be  
“ in perfect freedom; only give me leave to mind  
“ You, that the Old Foundations are by God’s Pro-  
“ vidence so, broken that, in the eye of reason, they  
“ cannot be restored but upon the Ruins of the Peo-  
“ ple of these Nations, that have engaged for their

“ Rights, in defence of the Parliament, and the great  
 “ and main ends of the Covenant, for uniting and  
 “ making the Lord’s Name One in the Three Nations:  
 “ and also the Liberty of the People’s Representatives  
 “ in Parliament will be certainly lost; for if the People  
 “ find, that after so long and bloody a War against  
 “ the King for breaking in upon their Liberties, yet  
 “ at last He must be taken in again, it will be out of  
 “ question, and is most manifest, He may for the  
 “ future govern by his Will, dispose of Parliaments  
 “ and Parliament-Men as He pleaseth, and yet the  
 “ People will never more rise for Assistance.”

“ And as to the Interest of this Famous City (which  
 “ hath been in all Ages the Bulwark of Parliaments,  
 “ and unto whom I am for their great Affection so  
 “ deeply engaged) certainly it must lie in a Common-  
 “ wealth; that Government only being capable to  
 “ make them, through the Lord’s Blessing, the Me-  
 “ tropolis and Bank of the Trade for all *Christendom*;  
 “ whereunto God and Nature hath fitted them  
 “ above others.

“ And as to a Government in the Church, the  
 “ want whereof hath been no small Cause of these  
 “ Nations distractions, it is most manifest, that if it  
 “ be Monarchical in the State, the Church must fol-  
 “ low, and Prelacy must be brought in; which these  
 “ Nations, I know, cannot bear, and against which  
 “ they have so solemnly Sworn.

“ And indeed moderate, not rigid Presbyterian  
 “ Government, with a sufficient Liberty for Consci-  
 “ ences truly tender, appears at present to be the  
 “ most indifferent and acceptable way to the Church’s  
 “ Settlement.

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XVI.

“ The main thing that seems to lie in the way, is  
 “ the Interest of the Lords, even of those Lords who  
 “ have showed themselves Noble indeed, by joining  
 “ with the People, and in defence of those just Rights  
 “ have adventured their dearest Blood and large Es-  
 “ tates. To that I shall only say, that though the State  
 “ of these Nations be such, as cannot bear their Sitting  
 “ in a distinct House ; yet, certainly, the Wisdom of  
 “ Parliament will find out such Hereditary Marks of  
 “ Honor for them, as may make them more Noble in  
 “ after-Ages.

“ Gentlemen,

“ Upon the whole matter, the best result that I can  
 “ make at present for the Peace of these Nations, will  
 “ be, in my opinion, that you forthwith go to sit to-  
 “ gether in Parliament, in order,

1. “ To the settling the Conduct of the Armies of  
 “ the Three Nations in that manner, as they may be  
 “ serviceable to the Peace and Safety of them, and  
 “ not to its own, and the Nations ruin, by Faction  
 “ and Division.

2. “ To the providing sufficient maintenance for  
 “ them ; that is, for the Forces by Land, and for the  
 “ Navy by the Sea, and all the Arrears of both, and  
 “ other contingencies of the Government.

3. “ To the appointing a Council of State with Au-  
 “ thority to settle the Civil Government and Judica-  
 “ tories in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to take care for  
 “ the issuing of Writs for the Summoning a Parlia-  
 “ ment of these Three Nations united, to meet at  
 “ *Westminster* the 20<sup>th</sup> day of *April* next, with such



“ Qualifications as may secure the Public Cause we  
 “ are all engaged in, and according to such distribu-  
 “ tions as were used in the year 1654. Which Parlia-  
 “ ment so called, may meet and act in freedom, for  
 “ the more full Establishing of this Common-wealth,  
 “ without a King, single Person, or House of Lords.

4. “ To a Legal Dissolution of this Parliament, to  
 “ make way for a Succession of Parliaments.

“ And in order to these good Ends, the Guards  
 “ will not only willingly admit you, but faithfully  
 “ both myself, and every the Officers under my  
 “ Command; and I believe the Officers and Soldiers  
 “ of the Three Nations will spend their Blood for  
 “ You and successive Parliaments.

“ If Your Conjunction be directed to this end, you  
 “ may part Honorably, having made a fair step to  
 “ the Settlement of these Nations, by making a way  
 “ for successive Parliaments.

“ But I must needs say, that if any different Counsel  
 “ should be taken (which I have no reason to fear)  
 “ these Nations would presently be thrown back in-  
 “ to Force and Violence, and all hopes of this much  
 “ desired Establishment buried in disorder; which  
 “ the Lord in his great Mercy I hope will prevent.  
 “ And so God speed you well together, and unite  
 “ your hearts for the preservation of Peace and Set-  
 “ tlement of these Nations, to His Glory, and Yours,  
 “ and all our Comforts.”

Divers who heard this, thought there was no dis-  
 simulation in it, in order to cover and conceal his  
 good intentions for the King: for, without doubt,

**B O O K** he had not to this hour seemed to them to have any  
**XVI.** purpose, or thought to serve him, but appeared to be  
 really of the opinion he expressed in his Paper, that it  
 was a work impossible. So that they thought they desired  
 nothing, but that he might see a Commonwealth  
 established in such a Model as *Holland* was, where  
 he had been bred; and that himself might enjoy the  
 authority and place which the Prince of Orange pos-  
 sessed in that Government. He had not from his  
 marching out of *Scotland* to this time, had much  
 public conversation with any Persons who had served  
 the King; nor had he hitherto, or, for some time after,  
 did he set one of the King's Friends at Liberty, though  
 all the Prisons were full of them; but on the contrary,  
 they were every day committed by the Rump-Parlia-  
 ment; and with them it was quite enough to be  
 suspected but to wish for the King's Restoration.

As soon as the Conference above mentioned was  
 ended with the Members of the Parliament, They  
 who had been excluded from the year 1648, repaired  
 to the House on *Feb.* the 21<sup>st</sup>, and without any inter-  
 ruption, which they had hitherto found, took their  
 places; and being superior in number to the rest, they  
 first repealed and abolished all the Orders by which  
 they had been excluded; then they provided for Him  
 who had so well provided for Them, by renewing  
 and enlarging the General's Commission, and revok-  
 ing all other Commissions which had been granted  
 to any to meddle with, or assign Quarters to any part  
 of the Forces.

They who had sat before, had put the whole  
 Militia of the Kingdom into the hands of Sectaries,

The excluded  
 Members go  
 to the House:

Their trans-  
 actions there.

Persons generally of no degree or quality, and notorious only for some new Tenet in Religion, and for some barbarity exercised upon the King's Party. All these Commissions were revoked, and the Militia put under the Government of the Nobility, and principal Gentry throughout the Kingdom; yet with this care and exception, that no Person should be capable of being trusted in that Province, who did not first declare under his hand, "that he did confess, "and acknowledge, that the War raised by the two "Houses of Parliament against the late King, was "just, and lawful, until such time as force and "violence was used upon the Parliament in the "year 1648."

In the last place, they raised an Assessment of one hundred thousand pounds by the Month, for the payment of the Army, and defraying the Public expenses for six Months, to which the whole Kingdom willingly submitted; and the City of *London*, upon the credit and security of that Act, advanced as much ready Money as they were desired; and having thus far redressed what was past, and provided as well as they could for the future, they issued out Writs to call a Parliament, to meet upon the five-and-twentieth day of *April* next ensuing (being *April* 1660) and then, on the sixteenth, or seventeenth day of *March*, after they had appointed a Council of State, of which there were many sober and honest Gentlemen, who did not wish the King ill, they dissolved that present Parliament, against all the importunities used by the Sectaries (who in Multitudes flocked together, and made Addresses in the Name of their

BOOK  
XVI.

They issue Writs for a New Parliament: and dissolve themselves, and appoint a New Council of State.

**B O O K** Party in the City of *London*, that they would not dissolve themselves) but to the unspeakable Joy of all the rest of the Kingdom; who, notwithstanding their very different affections, expectations, and designs, were unanimous in their weariness and detestation of the long Parliament.

**XVI.**

The King's  
Affairs at  
Brussels  
during this  
time.

When the King, who had rather an imagination, than an expectation, that the march of General *Mons* to *London* with his Army might produce some alteration that might be useful to him, heard of his entire submission to the Parliament, and of his entering the City, and disarming it, the Commitment of the principal Citizens, and breaking their Gates and Portcullises, all the little remainder of his hopes was extinguished, and he had nothing left before his eyes but a perpetual Exile, attended with all those discomforts, whereof he had too long Experience, and which, he must now expect, would be improved with the worst circumstances of neglect, which use to wait upon that condition. A greater consternation and dejection of mind cannot be imagined than at that time covered the small Court of the King; but God did not suffer him long to be wrapped up in that melancholic Cloud. As the General's second march into the City was within two or three days after his first, and dispelled the mists and fogs which the other had raised, so the very Evening of that day which had brought the News of the first in the Morning, brought likewise an Account to his Majesty of the second, with all the circumstances of Bells, and Bon-fires, and burning of Rumps, and such other Additions, as might reasonably be true, and which a willing Relator would not omit.

When

The King  
hears on the  
same day of  
both the  
marches of  
the General  
into the City.



When it begun to be dark, the Lord Marquis of Ormond brought a young Man with him to the Chancellor's Lodging at *Brussels*; which was under the King's Bed-chamber, and to which his Majesty every day vouchsafed to come for the despatch of any Business. The Marquis said no more but "that that Man" had formerly been an Officer under him, and he believed he was an honest Man; besides, that he brought a line or two of Credit from a Person they would both believe; but that his discourse was so strange and extravagant, that he knew not what to think of it; however, he would call the King to judge;" and so went out of the Room leaving the Man there, and immediately returned with the King.

The Man's name was *Baily*; who had lived most in *Ireland*, and had served there as a Foot-Officer under the Marquis. He looked as if he had drunk much, or slept little: his Relation was, "that in the Afternoon of such a day, he was with Sir *John Stephens* in *Lambeth-House*, used then as a Prison for many of the King's Friends; where, whilst they were in conference together, News was brought into the House by several Persons, that the General was marched with his whole Army into the City (it being within two or three days after he had been there, and broke down their Gates, and pulled down their Posts) and that he had a conference with the Mayor and Aldermen; which was no sooner ended, but that all the City Bells rang out; and He heard the Bells very plain at *Lambeth*: and that he staid there so late, till they saw the Bon-

BOOK  
XVI. “ fires burning and flaming in the City : upon which  
 “ Sir *John Stephens* had desired him, that he would  
 “ immediately cross the River, and go into *London*,  
 “ and inquire what the matter was; and if he found  
 “ any thing extraordinary in it, that he would take  
 “ Post, and make all possible haste to *Brussels*, that the  
 “ King might be informed of it; and so gave him a  
 “ short Note in Writing to the Marquis of *Ormond*,  
 “ that he might believe all that the Messenger would  
 “ inform him : that thereupon he went over the  
 “ River, walked through *Cheapside*, saw the Bon-  
 “ fires, and the King’s health drunk in several places,  
 “ heard all that the General had done, and brought a  
 “ Copy of the Letter which the General had sent to  
 “ the Parliament, at the time when he returned with  
 “ his Army into the City ; and then told many things,  
 “ which were,” he said, “ publicly spoken, concern-  
 “ ing sending for the King: that then he took Post  
 “ for *Dover*, and hired a Bark that brought him  
 “ to *Ostend*.”

The time was so short from the hour he left *London*;  
 that the expedition of his Journey was incredible,  
 nor could any man undertake to come from thence in  
 so short a time, upon the most important Affair, and  
 for the greatest reward. It was evident by many  
 pauses and hesitations in his discourse, and some Re-  
 petitions, that the Man was not composed, and at best  
 wanted sleep; yet his Relation could not be a mere  
 fiction and imagination. Sir *John Stephens* was a Man  
 well known to his Majesty, and the other two; and  
 had been sent over lately by the King, with some  
 advice to his Friends; and it was well known, that

he had been apprehended at his Landing, and was sent Prisoner to *Lambeth-House*. And though he had not mentioned in his Note any particulars, yet he had given him credit, and nothing but the Man's own Devotion to the King could reasonably tempt him to undertake so hazardous and chargeable a Journey. Then the General's Letter to the Parliament was of the highest moment, and not like to be feigned; and upon the whole matter, the King thought he had Argument to raise his own Spirits, and that he should do but justly in communicating his Intelligence to his dispirited Family, and Servants; who, upon the News thereof, were revived proportionably to the despair they had swallowed; and, according to the temper of Men who had lain under long disconsolation, thought all their Sufferings over; and laid in a stock of such vast hopes, as would be very hard for any success to procure satisfaction for.

But the King, who thanked God for this new dawning of hope, and was much refreshed with this unexpected Alteration, was yet restrained from any confidence that this would produce any such Revolution as would be sufficient to do his work; towards which he saw cause enough to despair of assistance from any Foreign power. The most that he could collect from the General's Letter, besides the suppressing the present Tyranny of the Rump-Parliament, was, that, possibly, at last the excluded Members might be again admitted, and, it may be, able to govern that Council. And even this Administered no solid ground of comfort or confidence to his Majesty. Several of those excluded Members had not been true

**BOOK** Members of Parliament, but elected, after the end of  
**xvi.** the War, into Their places who had been expelled for adhering to the King; and so they had no title to sit there, but what the counterfeit Great-Seal had given them, without, and against the King's Authority. It was thought these Men, with others who had been Lawfully chosen, were willing, and desirous, that the Concessions made by the late King at the Isle of *Wight* might be accepted; which in truth did, with the preservation of the Name and Life of the King, near as much establish a Republican Government, as was settled after his Murder; and because they would insist upon that, they were, with those circumstances of force and violence, which are formerly mentioned, excluded from the House; without which that horrid Villany could never have been committed.

Now what could the King reasonably expect from these Men's re-admission into the Government, but that they would resume their old Conclusions, and press him to consent to his Father's Concessions? which his late Majesty yielded to with much less cheerfulness, than he walked to the Scaffold; though it was upon the promise of many powerful Men then in the Parliament, "that he should not be obliged to  
"accomplish that Agreement." These Revolvings wrought upon his Majesty, though he thought it necessary to appear pleased with what he had heard, and to expect much greater things from it; which yet he knew not how to contribute to, till he should receive a farther Account from *London* of the Revolutions there.

Indeed, when all his Majesty had heard before, was



confirmed by several Expresses, who passed with much freedom, and were every day sent by his Friends, who had recovered their Courage to the full, and discerned that these excluded Members were principally admitted to prepare for the calling a New Parliament, and to be sure to make the dissolution of this unquestionable and certain, the King recovered his hopes again; which were every day increased by the Addresses of many Men, who had never before applied themselves to him; and many sent to him for his Majesty's Approbation and leave to serve and sit in the next Parliament. And from the time that the Parliament was dissolved, the Council of State behaved themselves very civilly towards his Majesty's Friends, and released many of them out of Prison: particularly *Annesley*, when President of the Council, was very well contented that the King should receive particular Information of His Devotion, and of his Resolution to do him Service; which he manifested in many particulars of importance, and had the Courage to receive a Letter from his Majesty, and returned a dutiful Answer to it: all which had a very good aspect, and seemed to promise much good. Yet the King knew not what to think of the General's Paper, which he had delivered at his Conference with the Members; for which he could seem to have no temptation, but his violent Affection to a Commonwealth. Few or none of his Majesty's Friends could find any means of address to him; yet they did believe, and were much the better for believing it, that the King had some secret correspondence with him. And some of them sent to the King, "of what

BOOK  
XVI.

Many now  
apply to the  
King.

The Council  
of State's kind  
behaviour now  
to the King's  
Friends.

BOOK XVI. “ importance it would be, that he gave them some  
 “ credit, or means of Access to the General, by which  
 “ they might receive his Order and Direction in such  
 “ things as occurred on the sudden, and that they  
 “ might be sure to do nothing that might cross any  
 “ purpose of His.” To which the King returned no  
 other Answer, “ but that they should have patience,  
 “ and make no Attempt whatsoever; and that in  
 “ due time they should receive all Advertisements  
 “ necessary;” it being not thought fit to disclaim  
 having intelligence with, or hopes of the General;  
 since it was very evident, that the received opinion,  
 that he did design to serve the King, or that he would  
 be at last obliged to do it, whether he designed to do  
 it or no, did really as much contribute to the Advance-  
 ment of his Majesty’s Service, as if he had dedicated  
 himself to it. And the Assurance, that the other Party  
 thought they had, that he had no such Intention,  
 hindered those obstructions, which very probably  
 might have lessened his credit with his own Army,  
 or united all the rest of the Forces against him.

There happened likewise at this time a business  
 that very much troubled the King, and might very  
 probably have destroyed all the hopes that began to  
 flatter him. Upon the Dissolution of the Parliament,  
 which put an end to all the Power and Authority of  
 those who had been the chief Instruments of all the  
 monstrous things which had been done, the highest  
 despair seized upon all who had been the late King’s  
 Judges; who were sure to find as hard measure from  
 the secluded Members, as they were to expect if the  
 King himself had been restored. And all they who

had afterwards concurred with them, and exercised the same power, who were called the *Rump*, believed their ruin and destruction to be certain, and at hand. And therefore they contrived all the ways they could to preserve themselves, and to prevent the assembling a new Parliament; which if they could interrupt, they made no doubt but the Rump-Members would again resume the Government, notwithstanding their Dissolution by the power of the secluded Members; who would then pay dear for their presumption and intrusion.

To this purpose, they employed their Agents amongst the Officers and Soldiers of the Army, who had been disgracefully removed from their Quarters in the *Strand*, and *Westminster*, and the parts adjacent to *London*, to make room for General *Monk's* Army; which was now looked upon as the sole Confiding part of the Army. And they inflamed these Men with the sense of their own desperate condition; who, having served throughout the War, should, besides the loss of all the Arrears of Pay due to them, be now offered as a sacrifice to the Cavaliers, whom they had Conquered, and who, they supposed, were implacably incensed against them. Nor did they omit to make the same insinuations into the Soldiers of General *Monk's* Army, who had all the same Title to the same fears and apprehensions. And when their minds were thus prepared, and ready to declare upon the first opportunity, *Lambert* made his escape out of the Tower; his Party having in all places so many of their Combination, that they could compass their designs of that kind whenever they thought fit; though the General

*Lambert's*  
escape out of  
the Tower.

**B O O K** had as great a jealousy of this Man's escape, as of any  
**XVI.** thing that could fall out to supplant him. And therefore, it may be presumed, he took all possible care to prevent it: and they who then had Command of the place, were notoriously known neither to love *Lambert's* Person, nor to favor his Designs.

This escape of *Lambert* in such a conjuncture, the most perilous that it could fall out in, put the General, and the Council of State, into a great Agony. They knew well what Poison had been scattered about the Army, and what impression it had made in the Soldiers. *Lambert* was the most Popular Man, and had the greatest Influence upon them. And though they had lately deserted him, they had sufficiently published their remorse, and their detestation of those who had seduced and cozened them. So that there was little doubt to be made, now he was at liberty, but that they would flock and resort to him, as soon as they should know where to find him. On the other hand, no small danger was threatened from the very drawing the Army together to a Rendezvous in order to prosecute and oppose him, no Man being able to make a judgment what they would chuse to do in such a conjuncture, when they were so full of jealousy and dissatisfaction. And it may very reasonably be believed, that if he had, after he found himself at liberty, lain concealed, till he had digested the Method he meant to proceed in, and procured some place to which the Troops might resort to declare with him, when he should appear (which had been very easy then for him to have done) he would have gone near to have shaken at least the Model the General had made.



But either through the fear of his security, and being betrayed into the hands of his Enemies (as all kind of treachery was at that time very active: of which he had experience) or the presumption, that the Army would obey him upon his first Call; and that, if he could draw a small part to him, the rest would never appear against him; he precipitated himself to make an attempt, before he was ready for it, or it for Him; and so put it into his Enemies power to disappoint, and control all his designs. He staid not at all in *London*, as it was his Interest to have done, but hastened into the Country; and trusting a Gentleman in *Buckinghamshire*, whom he thought himself sure of, the General had quickly notice in what Quarter he was: yet, with great Expedition, *Lambert* drew four Troops of the Army to him, with which he had the Courage to appear near *Daventry* in *Northamptonshire*, a Country famous for disaffection to the King, and for adhering to the Parliament; where he presumed he should be attended by other parts of the Army, before it should be known at *White-Hall* where he was, and that any Forces could be sent from thence against him: of which, he doubted not, from his many Friends, he should have reasonable Notice.

But the General, upon his first secret intimation of his being in *Buckinghamshire*, and of the course he meant to take, had committed it to the charge and care of Colonel *Ingoldsby* (who was well known to be very willing and desirous to take revenge upon *Lambert*, for his malice to *Oliver* and *Richard*, and the affront he had himself received from him) to attend and watch

B O O K  
XVI.

He draws  
four Troops  
of the Army  
to him near  
*Daventry*.

The General  
sends In-  
goldsby against  
him with his  
own Regi-  
ment, and a

**B O O K** all his Motions with his own Regiment of Horse ;  
 which was the more faithful to him for having been  
 before seduced by *Lambert* to desert him. *Ingoldby*,  
 being joined with a good Body of Foot under Co-  
 lonel *Streater*, used so much diligence in waiting upon  
*Lambert's* Motion, before he was suspected to be so  
 near, that one of *Lambert's* four Captains fell into the  
 hands of his Forlorn hope ; who made him Prisoner,  
 and brought him to their Colonel. The Captain was  
 very well known to *Ingoldby* ; who, after some con-  
 ference with him, gave him his liberty, upon his pro-  
 mise, “ that he would himself retire to his House, and  
 “ send his Troop to obey his Commands ; which pro-  
 “ mise he observed ;” and the next day his Troop,  
 under his Cornet and Quarter-Master, came to *In-*  
*goldby*, and informed him where *Lambert* was. He  
 thereupon made haste, and was in his view, before the  
 other had notice that he was pursued by him.

*Lambert*, surpris'd with this discovery, and finding  
 that one of his Troops had forsaken him, saw his  
 Enemy much superior to him in Number ; and there-  
 fore sent to desire that they might treat together ;  
 which the other was content to do. *Lambert* propos'd  
 to him, “ that they might restore *Richard* to be Pro-  
 “ tector ;” and promised to unite all his Credit to the  
 Support of that Interest. But *Ingoldby* (besides that  
 he well understood the folly and impossibility of that  
 Undertaking) had devoted himself to a better Interest ;  
 and adhered to the General, because he presumed  
 that He did intend to serve the King, and so rejected  
 this Overture. Whereupon both Parties prepared to  
 Fight, when another of *Lambert's* Troops forsaking

**XVI.**  
 Body of Foot  
 under Colonel  
*Streater*.

One of *Lam-*  
*bert's* Troops  
 revolts to  
*Ingoldby* :

and another

him, and putting, themselves under his Enemy, he concluded, that his Safety would depend upon his Flight; which he thought to secure by the swiftness of his Horse. But *Ingoldby* keeping his Eye still upon him, and being as well Horsed, overtook him, and made him his Prisoner, after he had in vain used great and much importunity to him, that he would permit him to escape.

B O O K  
XVI.

*Lambert* and  
his Party  
dispersed.  
He and others  
taken.

With him were taken *Cobbet*, *Creed*, and some other Officers of the greatest Interest with the Fanatic part of the Army, and who were most apprehended by the General, in a time when all the ways were full of Soldiers endeavouring to repair to them: so that, if they had not been crushed in that instant, they would, in very few days, have appeared very formidable. *Ingoldby* returned to *London*, and brought his Prisoners to the Privy-Council; who committed *Lambert* again to the Tower with a stricter Charge, with some other of the Officers; and sent the rest to other Prisons. This very seasonable Victory looked to all Men, as a happy Omen to the succeeding Parliament; which was to assemble soon after the Prisoners were brought before the Council; and would not have appeared with the same cheerfulness, if *Lambert* had remained still in Arms, or, in truth, if he had been still at liberty.

In this short Interval between the return of the seclused Members, and the Convention of the new Parliament, many prudent Actions and Alterations (besides what have been already mentioned) were begun by that Parliament, before it was dissolved, and finished afterwards by the Council of State;

The Parlia-  
ment's and  
Council of  
State's pru-  
dent Actions.

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Before the  
Assembling  
of the new  
Parliament  
they release  
Sir George  
Booth, &c.

which were good Prefages, that the future Councils would proceed with Moderation. They released Sir *George Booth* from his Imprisonment, that he might be Elected to sit in the ensuing Parliament. as he shortly after was ; and they set at liberty all those who had been committed for adhering to him. Those of the King's Party who had sheltered themselves in obscurity, appeared now abroad, and conversed without control ; and Mr. *Mordaunt*, who was known to be entirely trusted by the King, walked into all places with freedom ; and many of the Council, and some Officers of the Army, as *Ingoldjby* and *Huntington*, &c. made, through Him, tender of their Services to the King.

They reform  
the Navy by  
making  
Monk and  
Mountague  
Admirals.

But that which seemed of most importance, was the reformation they made in the Navy ; which was full of Sectaries, and under the Government of those who of all Men were declared the most Republican. The present Fleet prepared for the Summer-Service, was under the Command of Vice-Admiral *Lawson* ; an excellent Seaman, but then a notorious Anabaptist ; who had filled the Fleet with Officers. and Mariners, of the same principles. And they well remembered, how he had lately besieged the City ; and, by the power of his Fleet, given that turn which helped to ruin *the Committee of Safety*, and restore the Rump-Parliament to the exercise of their Jurisdiction ; for which he stood high in Reputation with all that Party. The Parliament resolved, though they thought it not fit or safe to remove *Lawson*, yet so far to eclipse him, that he should not have it so absolutely in his power to Control Them, as he had done *the Com-*



*mittee of Safety.* In order to this they concluded, that they would call *Mountague*, who had lain privately in his own House, under a Cloud, and Jealousy of being inclined too much to the King, and make Him and the General (who was not to be left out in any thing) joint Admirals of the Fleet; whereby *Mountague* only would go to Sea, and have the Ships under his Command; by which he might take care for good Officers, and Seamen, for such other Ships as they meant to add to the Fleet, and would be able to observe, if not reform the rest. *Mountague* sent privately over to the King for his Approbation, before he would accept the Charge; which being speedily sent to him, he came to *London*, and entered into that joint Command with the General; and immediately applied himself to put the Fleet into so good order, that he might comfortably serve in it. Since there was no Man who betook himself to his Majesty's Service with more generosity than this Gentleman, it is fit in this place to enlarge concerning him, and the correspondence which he held with the King.

*Mountague* was of a Noble Family, of which some were too much addicted to Innovations in Religion. and in the beginning of the Troubles, appeared against the King; though his Father, who had been long a Servant to the Crown, never could be prevailed upon to swerve from his Allegiance, and took all the care he could to restrain this his only Son within those limits: but being young, and more out of his Father's Control by being Married into a Family, which, at that time, also trod away, he was so far wrought upon by the Caresses of *Cromwell*, that, out of pure Affec-

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An account  
of Admiral  
*Mountague*.

**B O O K** tion to him, he was persuaded to take Command in  
**XVI.** the Army, when it was new Modelled under *Fairfax*, and when he was little more than twenty years of Age. He served in that Army in the Condition of a Colonel to the end of the War, with the Reputation of a very stout and sober young Man. And from that time *Cromwell*, to whom he passionately adhered, took him into his nearest Confidence, and sent him, first, joined in Commission with *Blake*; and then, in the sole Command by Sea; in which he was discreet and successful. And though Men looked upon him as devoted to *Cromwell's* Interest, in all other respects he behaved himself with civility to all Men, and without the least show of Acrimony towards any who had served the King; and was so much in love with Monarchy, that he was one of those who most desired and advised *Cromwell* to accept, and assume that Title, when it was offered to him by his Parliament. He was designed by him to Command the Fleet that was to mediate, as was pretended, in the *Sound* between the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*; but was, in truth, to hinder the *Dutch* from assisting the *Dane* against the *Swede*; with whom *Oliver* was engaged in an inseparable Alliance. He was upon this Expedition, when *Richard* was scornfully thrown out of the Protectorship; and was afterwards joined (for they knew not how to leave him out, whilst he had that Command) with *Algernoon Sidney*, and the other Plenipotentiaries which the Rump-Parliament sent to reconcile those Crowns. As soon as *Richard* was so cast down, the King thought *Mountague's* relations and obligations were at an end, and was advised by those who knew him, to invite him to his Service;

There accompanied him at that time *Edward Mountague*, the eldest Son of the Lord *Mountague* of *Boughton*, and his near Kinsman; with whom he had a particular Friendship. This Gentleman was not unknown to the King, and very well known to the Chancellor, to have good Affections and Resolutions; and one who, by the correspondence that was between them, he knew, had undertaken that unpleasant Voyage, only to dispose his Cousin to lay hold of the first opportunity to Serve his Majesty. At this time Sir *George Booth* appeared, and all those designs were laid, which, it was reasonably hoped, would engage the whole Kingdom against that odious part of the Parliament which was then possessed of the Government. And it was now thought a very seasonable Conjuncture to make an experiment, whether *Mountague* with his Fleet would declare for the King.

The Chancellor thereupon prepared such a Letter in his own Name, as his Majesty thought proper, to invite him to that resolution, from the distraction of the times, and the determination of all those Motives which had in his youth first provoked him to the engagements he had been in. He informed him of " Sir *George Booth's* being possessed of *Chester*, and in " the head of an Army; and that his Majesty was " assured of many other Places; and of a general " Combination between Persons of the greatest Interest, to declare for the King; and that, if he would " bring his Fleet upon the Coast, his Majesty, or the " Duke of *York*, would immediately be on Board " with him." This Letter was inclosed in another to *Edward Mountague*, to be by him delivered, or Not

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**B O O K** delivered, as he thought fit; and committed to the  
**XVI.** care of an Express, who was then thought not to be without some Credit with the Admiral himself; which did not prove true. However, the Messenger was diligent in prosecuting his Voyage, and arrived safely at *Copenhagen* (where the Fleet lay; and where all the Plenipotentiaries from the Parliament then were) and without difficulty found opportunity to deliver his Letter to the Person to whom it was directed; who, the same Night, delivered the other to his Cousin. He received it cheerfully, and was well pleased with the hopes of sudden Revolutions in *England*.

They were both of them puzzled how to behave themselves towards the Messenger, who was not acceptable to them, being very well known to the Fleet, where though he had had good Command, he had no Credit; and had appeared so publicly, by the folly of Good-fellowship, that the Admiral, and many others, had seen him and taken notice of him, before he knew that he brought any Letter for him. The conclusion was, that he should without delay be sent away, without speaking with the Admiral or knowing that he knew any thing of his Errand. But *Edward Mountague* writ such a Letter to the Chancellor, as was evidence enough that his Majesty would not be disappointed in his expectation of any Service that the Admiral could perform for him. With this Answer the Messenger returned to *Brussels*, where there was a great alteration from the time he had left it.

Within few days after this Messenger's withdrawing from *Copenhagen*, of whose being there the Plenipotentiaries were so jealous, that they had resolved to  
 require



require of the King of *Denmark*, that he might be committed to Prison, Admiral *Mountague* declared, “ that he should not be able to stay longer there for “ the want of Victual; of which he had not more “ than would serve to carry him home; and there- “ fore desired, that they would press both Kings and “ the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, to finish the Nego- “ tiation.” By this time the News of the Commotions in *England* made a great noise, and were reported, according to the Affections of the Persons who sent Letters thither, more to the King’s advantage than there was reason for; and the other Plenipotentiaries came to know, that the Man, of whom they were so jealous, had privately spoken with *Edward Mountague*; who was very well known, and very ill thought of by them. And from thence they concluded, that the Admiral, who had never pleased them, was no stranger to that Negotiation; in which jealousy they were quickly confirmed, when they saw him with his Fleet under Sail, making his course for *England*, without giving them any notice, or taking his leave of them; which if he had done, they had secret Authority from their coming thither (upon the general apprehension of his Inclination) to have secured his Person on Board his own Ship, and to have disposed of the Government of the Fleet; of which being thus prevented they could do no more than send Expresses over Land, to acquaint the Parliament of his departure, with all the aggravation of his pride, presumption, and infidelity, which the bitterness of their nature and wit could suggest to them.

When the Fleet arrived near the Coast of *England*,

BOOK they found Sir *George Booth* defeated, and all Persons  
 XLVI. who pretended any affection for the King, so totally  
 crushed, and the Rump-Parliament in so full exercise  
 of it's Tyrannical power, that the Admiral had no-  
 thing to do but to justify his return "by his scarcity  
 " of Victual, which must have failed, if he had staid  
 " till the Winter had shut him up in the *Sound*;" and  
 his return was resolved upon the joint Advice of the  
 Flag-Officers of the Fleet; there being not a Man but  
 his Cousin, who knew any other reason of his return,  
 or was privy to his purposes. So that, as soon as he had  
 presented himself to the Parliament, and laid down his  
 Command, they deferred the examination of the  
 whole matter, upon the complaints which they had  
 received from their Commissioners. till they could be  
 at more leisure. For it was then about the time that  
 they grew jealous of *Lambert*; so that *Mountague* went  
 quietly into the Country, and remained neglected  
 and forgotten, till those Revolutions were over  
 which were produced by *Lambert's* Invasion upon  
 the Parliament, and General *Monk's* march into *Eng-  
 land*, and till near the time that the Name and Title of  
 that Parliament was totally abolished, and extin-  
 guished; and then the secluded Members being  
 restored, called him to resume the Command of the  
 Fleet; which he accepted in the manner aforesaid.

This, together with the other good Symptoms in  
 the State, raised his Majesty's hopes and expectation  
 higher than ever, if it had not been an unpleasant  
 alloy, that in so great an alteration, and application of  
 many who had been eminently averse from his Ma-  
 jesty, of the General, who only could put an end to

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all his doubts, there was *altum silentium*; no Persons trusted by his Majesty could approach him, nor was any word known to fall from him that could encourage them to go to him, though they still presumed that he meant well.

The General was weary and perplexed with his unwieldy Burden, yet knew not how to make it lighter by communication. He spent much time in consultation with Persons of every Interest, the King's Party only excepted; with whom he held no conference; though he found, in his every day's discourses in the City, with those who were thought to be Presbyterians, and with other Persons of Quality and Consideration, that the People did generally wish for the King, and that they did believe, there could be no firm and settled Peace in the Nation, that did not comprehend His Interest, and compose the prejudice that was against His Party. But then there must be strict Conditions to which he must be bound, which it should not be in his Majesty's Power to break; and which might not only secure all who had borne Arms against him, but such who had purchased the Lands of the Crown, or of Bishops, or of Delinquents; and no body spoke more favorably, than for the confirming all that had been offered by his Father in the Isle of *Wight*.

The General's  
Councils at  
this time.

Whether by invitation, or upon his own desire, he was present at *Northumberland-House* in a Conference with that Earl, the Earl of *Manchester*, and other Lords, and likewise with *Hollis*, Sir *William Waller*, *Lewis*, and other eminent Persons, who had a trust and confidence in each other, and who were looked

He had a  
conference  
with divers at  
*Northumber-*  
*and House.*

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upon as the Heads and Governors of the moderate Presbyterian Party ; who, most of them, would have been contented, their own security being provided for, that the King should be restored to his full Rights, and the Church to it's Possessions. In this Conference, the King's Restoration was proposed in direct terms, as absolutely necessary to the Peace of the Kingdom, and for the Satisfaction of the People ; and the question seemed only to be, upon what terms they should admit Him : some proposing more moderate , others more severe Conditions. In this whole Debate, the General insisted upon the most rigid Propositions ; which he pressed in such a manner, that the Lords grew jealous that he had such an aversion from Restoring the King , that it would not be safe for them then to prosecute that advice ; and therefore it were best to acquiesce till the Parliament met, and that they could make some judgment of the temper of it. And the General, though he consulted with those of every Faction with much freedom, yet was by many then thought to have most familiarity, and to converse most freely with Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, who was irreconcilable to Monarchy, and looked upon as the Chief of that Republican Party, which desired not to preserve any face of Government in the Church, or Uniformity in the public Exercise of Religion. This made the Lords, and all others, who were of different affections, very wary in their discourses with the General, and jealous of his Inclinations.

He consults  
with Mr.  
Morrice.

There was, at this time, in much conversation, and trust with the General, a Gentleman of *Devonshire*, of a fair Estate and Reputation, one Mr. *William Morrice*,



a Person of a retired Life, which he spent in Study, being Learned and of good Parts; and he had been always looked upon as a Man far from any Malice towards the King, if he had not good Affections for Him; which they who knew him best believed him to have in a good measure. This Gentleman was allied to the General, and entirely trusted by him in the management of his Estate in that County, where, by the death of his elder Brother without Heirs Male, he inherited a fair Fortune. And *Morrice*, being chosen to serve in the next ensuing Parliament, had made haste to *London*, the better to observe how things were like to go. With Him the General consulted freely touching all his perplexities and observations, how “ he found most Men of Quality and interest inclined “ to call in the King, but upon such Conditions as “ must be very ungrateful, if possible to be received,” and the *London*-Ministers talked already so loudly of them, that the Covenant being new Printed, and, by Order fixed up in all Churches, they, in their Sermons, discoursed of the several obligations in it, that, without exposing themselves to the danger of naming the King, which yet they did not long forbear, every body understood, they thought it necessary the People should return to their Allegiance.

That which wrought most upon the General, was the choice which was begun to be made in all Counties for Members to serve in Parliament; very many of them being known to be of singular Affection to the King, and very few who did not heartily abhor the Murder of his Father, and detest the Government that succeeded: so that it was reasonably ap-

BOOK XVI. prehended, that, when they should once meet, there would be warmth among them, that could not be restrained or controled; and they might take the business so much into their own hands, as to leave no part to Him to merit of the King; from whom he had yet deserved nothing.

Mr. *Morrice* was not wanting to cultivate those conceptions with his information of the Affections of the West, "where the King's Restoration was," he said, "so impatiently longed for, that they had made choice of few or no Members to serve for *Cornwal*, or *Devonshire*, but such, who, they were confident, would contribute all they could to invite the King to return. And when that Subject was once upon the Stage, They who concurred with most frankness, would find most credit; and They who opposed it, would be overborne with lasting reproach." When the General had reflected upon the whole matter, he resolved to advance that design; and so consulted with his Friend how he might manage it in that manner, before the Parliament should assemble, that what followed might be imputed to his Counsels, and Contrivance.

There was then in the Town a Gentleman well known to be a Servant of eminent Trust to the King, Sir *John Greenvil*, who, from the time of the Surrender of *Scilly*, had enjoyed his Estate, and sometimes his Liberty, though, under the jealousy of a disaffected Person, often restrained. He had been privy to the sending to the General into *Scotland* the Clergy-man, his Brother; and was conversant with those who were most trusted by his Majesty, and at this time

were taken notice of to have all Intimacy with Mr. *Mordaunt*; who most immediately corresponded with *Brussels*. This Gentleman was of a Family to which the General was allied; and he had been obliged to his Father, Sir *Bevil Greenvil*; who lost his Life at the Battle of *Lansdown* for the King, and by his Will had recommended his much impaired Fortune, and his Wife and Children, to the care and counsel of his Neighbour and Friend, Mr. *Morrice*; who had executed the Trust with the utmost Fidelity and Friendship.

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The General was content, that Sir *John Greenvil* should be trusted in this great Affair, and that Mr. *Morrice* should bring him secretly to him in a private Lodging he had in St. *James'*. When he came to him, after he had solemnly conjured him to secrecy, upon the peril of his Life; he told him, "he meant to send him to the King; with whom, he presumed, he had credit enough to be believed without any testimony; for he was resolved not to write to the King, nor to give him any thing in writing; but wished him to confer with Mr. *Morrice*, and to take short Memorials in his own hand of those particulars he should offer to him in discourse; which when he had done, he would himself confer with him again at an hour he should appoint." And so he retired hastily out of the Room, as if he were jealous that other Men would wonder at his absence.

Sir John  
Greenvil in-  
troduced to  
the General by  
Mr. *Morrice*.

That which Mr. *Morrice* Communicated to *Greenvil*, was, after he had enlarged upon "the perplexity the General was in, by the several humors and factions which prevailed, and that he durst not trust

BOOK XVI. "any Officer of his own Army, or any Friend but himself, with his own secret purposes;" he advised, "that the King should write a Letter to the General; in which, after kind and gracious Expressions, he should desire him to deliver the inclosed Letter, and Declaration to the Parliament;" the particular heads, and materials for which Letter, and Declaration, *Morrice* discoursed to him; the end of which was to satisfy all Interests, and to comply with every Man's humor, and indeed to suffer every Man to enjoy what he would.

After Sir *John Greenvil* had enough discoursed all particulars with him, and taken such short Memorials for his Memory as he thought necessary, within a day or two he was brought with the same wariness, and in another place, to the General; to whom he read the short Notes he had taken; to which little was added: and the General said, "that if the King writ to that purpose, when he brought the Letter to him, he would keep it in his hands, till he found a fit time to deliver it, or should think of another way to serve his Majesty." Only he added another particular, as an advice absolutely necessary for the King to consent to, which was, his Majesty's present remove out of *Flanders*. He undertook to know, that the *Spaniard* had no purpose to do any thing for him, and that all his Friends were jealous, that it would not be in his power to remove from thence, if he deferred it till they discovered that he was like to have no need of them. And therefore he desired, "that his Majesty would make haste to *Breda*, and that, for the public satisfaction, and that it might be evident he had left *Flanders*, whatsoever he

The Transactions between the General, *Morrice*, and *Greenvil*.



“ should send in writing should bear date as from *Breda* ;” and he enjoined Sir *John Greenvil* “ not to return, till he had himself seen the King out of the “ *Dominions of Flanders*.” Thus instructed he left him, who taking Mr. *Mordaunt* with him for the Companion of his Journey, set out for *Flanders* about the beginning of *April* 1660, and in few days arrived safely at *Brussels*.

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Thus instructed, Sir J. Greenvil goes over to Brussels with Mr. Mordaunt.

It was no unpleasant prospect to the King, nor of small advantage to him, that the *Spaniard* looked upon all these Revolutions in *England* as the effects of the several animosities, and emulations of the different Factions among themselves; a Contention only between the Presbyterian Republicans on one side, and the Independent and Levelling Party on the other, for superiority, and who should steer the Government of the State, without the least reference to the King's Interest: which, they thought, would in no degree be advanced which side soever prevailed. And therefore *Don Alonzo*, by his *Irish* Agents (who made him believe any thing) continued firm to the Levellers, who, if they got the better of their Enemies, he was assured, would make a good Peace with *Spain*; which above all things they desired: and if they were oppressed, he made as little doubt they would unite themselves to the King, upon such conditions as he should arbitrate between them. And in this confidence he embraced all the ways he could to correspond with them, receiving such Agents with all possible secrecy who repaired to him to *Brussels*; and when Instruments, of most credit and importance, would not adventure thither, he was contented to send some

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Person, who was intrusted by him, into *Zeeland* to confer and treat with them. And in this kind of Negotiation, which was very expensive, they cared not what Money they disbursed, whilst they neglected the King, and suffered him to be without that small supply which they had assigned to him.

In this temper were the *Spanish* Ministers, when Mr. *Mordaunt* and Sir *John Greenvil* came to *Brussels*. And *Don Alonzo* had so fully possessed the Court at *Madrid* with the same Spirit, that when the Chancellor, in his Letters to Sir *Harry Bennet*, his Majesty's Resident there, intimated the hopes they had of a Revolution in *England* to the advantage of the King, he answered plainly, "that he durst not communicate any of those Letters to the Ministers there; who would laugh at him for abusing them, since they looked upon all those hopes of the King as imaginary, and without foundation of Sense, and upon his condition as most deplorable and absolutely desperate."

Sir John  
Greenvil gives  
the King an  
account of his  
Negotiation  
with the  
General.

When Sir *John Greenvil* had at large informed his Majesty of the Affairs of *England*, of the manner of the General's conference with him, and the good affection of Mr *Morrice*, and had Communicated the Instructions and Advices he had received, as his Majesty was very glad that the General had thus far discovered himself, and that he had opened a door for correspondence, so he was not without great perplexity upon many particulars which were recommended to be done; some of which he believed impossible and unpracticable, as the leaving every body in the state they were in, and confirming their posses-

The King's  
deliberations  
upon the

sion in all the Lands which they held in *England*, *Scotland*, or *Ireland*, by purchase or donation, whether of Lands belonging to the Crown and Church, or such who for adhering to his Father and himself, were declared Delinquents and had their Lands confiscated and disposed of as their Enemies had thought fit. Then, the complying with all humors in Religion, and the granting a general liberty of Conscience, was a violation of all the Laws in force, and could not be apprehended to consist with the Peace of the Kingdom. No Man was more disposed to a general Act of Indemnity and Oblivion than his Majesty was, which he knew, in so long and universal a guilt, was absolutely necessary. But he thought it neither consistent with his Honor, nor his Conscience, that those who had sat as Judges, and condemned his Father to be murdered, should be comprehended in that Act of Pardon: yet it was advised, "that there might be  
 " no Exception; or that above Four might not be  
 " excepted;" because, it was alledged, "that some  
 " of them had facilitated the General's march by  
 " falling from *Lambert*, and others had barefaced  
 " advanced the King's Service very much."

After great deliberation upon all the particulars, and weighing the importance of complying with the General's advice in all things which his Conscience and Honor would permit, his Majesty directed such Letters and Declarations to be prepared, as should be, in a good degree, suitable to the Wishes and Counsel of the General, and yet make the transaction of those things which he did not like, the effect of the power of the Parliament, rather than of his Majesty's approba-

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 terms pro-  
 posed by the  
 General.

**B O O K** tion. And the confidence he had upon the general  
**XVI.** Election of honest and prudent Men, and in some particular Persons, who, he heard, were already chosen, disposed him to make a general reference of all things which he could not reserve to himself, to the wisdom of the Parliament, upon presumption that they would not exact more from him than he was willing to consent to; since he well knew, that whatever title They assumed, or He gave them, they must have another kind of Parliament to confirm all that was done by them; without which They could not be safe, and contented, nor his Majesty obliged.

The Advice for his Majesty's remove out of *Flanders* presently, was not ungrateful; for he had reasons abundant to be weary of it: yet he was without any great inclination to *Holland*; where he had been as unkindly used as it was possible for any Gentleman to be. But besides the Authority which the General's advice deserved to have, the truth is, his Majesty could remove no whither else. *France* was equally excepted against, and equally disagreeable to the King; and the way thither must be through all the *Spanish* Dominions: *Dunkirk* was a place in many respects desirable, because it was in the possession of the *English*, from whence he might Embark for *England* upon the shortest warning. And upon the first alterations in *England*, after the Peace between the two Crowns, the King had sent to *Lockhart*, the Governor, and General of the *English* there, by a Person of Honor, well known and respected by him, to invite him to his Service by the prospect he had of the Revolutions like to ensue (which probably could not



but be advantageous to the King) and by the uncertainty of *Lockhart's* own condition upon any such Alterations. The Arguments were urged to him with clearness and force enough, and all necessary offers made to persuade him to declare for the King, and to receive his Majesty into that Garrison; which might be facilitated by his Majesty's Troops, if he did not think his own Soldiers enough at his devotion: yet he could not be prevailed with, urging "the Trust he had received, and the indecency of breaking it;" though, he confessed, "there was such a jealousy of him in the Council of State; for his relation and alliance to *Cromwell*, that he expected every day to be removed from that Command; as shortly after he was." Whether this refusal proceeded from the punctuality of his Nature (for he was a Man of parts, and of honor) or from his Jealousy of the Garrison, that they would not be disposed by him (for though he was exceedingly beloved, and obeyed by them, yet they were all *English-men*, and he had none of his own Nation, which was the *Scottish*, but in his own Family) certain it is, that, at the same time he refused to treat with the King, he refused to accept the great offers made to him by the Cardinal; who had a high esteem of him, and offered to make him Marechal of *France*, with great appointments of Pensions and other Emoluments, if he would deliver *Dunkirk*, and *Mardike* into the hands of *France*; all which Overtures he rejected: so that his Majesty had no place to resort to preferable to *Breda*.

The King, was resolved rather to make no mention of the Murderers of his Father, than to pardon any of them, and except four, as was proposed: but chose

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rather to refer the whole consideration of that Affair, without any restriction, to the Conscience of the Parliament; yet with such expressions, and descriptions, that they could not but discern that he trusted them in confidence that they would do Themselves and the Nation right, in declaring their detestation of, and preparing vengeance for, that Parricide. And from the time that the secluded Members sat again with the Rump, there was good evidence given that they would not leave that odious Murder unexamined and unpunished; which the more disposed the King to depend upon their Virtue and Justice.

When the Summons were sent out to call the Parliament, there was no mention or thought of a House of Peers; nor had the General intimated any such thing to Sir *John Grenvil*; nor did Sir *John* himself, or Mr. *Mordaunt*, conceive that any of the Lords had a purpose to meet at first, but that all must depend upon the Commons. However, the King thought not fit to pass Them by, but to have a Letter prepared as well for Them as for the House of Commons; and likewise another to the Fleet; and another to the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of the City of *London*; who, by adhering to the General, were like to add very much to his Authority.

The Letters prepared to the Parliament, &c. which the General advised. The King declares to the Marquis of Caracena "that he intended to go after some

When all those things were prepared, and perused, and approved by the King, which he resolved to send by Sir *John Grenvil* to the General (*Grenvil's* and *Mordaunt's* being in *Brussels* being unknown; They, attending his Majesty only in the Night at the Chancellor's Lodging, concealing themselves from being taken notice of by any) his Majesty visited the Mar-

quis of *Carracena*, and told him, "that he intended  
 " the next day to go to *Antwerp*, and from thence to  
 " *Breda*. to spend two or three days with his Sister  
 " the Princess of *Orange*; to whom the Dukes of *York*  
 and *Glocester* were already gone, to acquaint her with  
 the King's purpose; and his Majesty likewise, in  
 confidence, informed him, " that there were some  
 " Persons come from *England*, who would not ven-  
 " ture to come to *Brussels*, from whom he expected  
 " some Propositions and Informations, which might  
 " prove beneficial to him; which obliged him to  
 " make that Journey to confer with them."

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" days to  
 " *Breda*, to  
 " meet his  
 " Sister.

The Marquis seemed to think That of little Mo-  
 ment; and said, "that *Don Alonzo* expected every day  
 " to receive assurance, that the Levellers would unite  
 " themselves to the King's Interest, upon more  
 " moderate Conditions than they had hitherto  
 " made;" but desired his Majesty, "that the Duke of  
 " *York* might hasten his Journey into *Spain*, to receive  
 " the Command that was there reserved for him;"  
 and the King desired him, "that the Forces he had  
 " promised for his Service, might be ready against his  
 " return to be Embarked upon the first appearance of  
 " a hopeful occasion." So they parted; and his Ma-  
 jesty went the next day to *Antwerp*, with that small  
 retinue he used to Travel with.

His departure was some hours earlier than the Mar-  
 quis imagined; and the reason of it was this: In that  
 Night, one Mr. *William Galloway*, an *Irish* young  
 Man, Page at that time to *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*,  
 came to the Lord Chancellor's Lodgings, and finding  
 his Secretary in his own Room, told him, "he must

The Spani-  
 ards design,  
 to seize his  
 Majesty,  
 discovered.

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"needs speak presently with his Lord; for he had something to impart to him that concerned the King's life." The Chancellor, though at that time in Bed, ordered him to be admitted; and the poor Man trembling told him, "that his Lord *Don Alonzo* and the Marquis of *Carracena* had been long together that evening; and, that himself had overheard them saying something of sending a Guard to attend the King: that, about an hour after, they parted; and the Marquis sent a paper to *Don Alonzo*; who, when he went to Bed, laid it on his Table: that himself, who lay in his Master's AntiChamber, looked into the Paper, when his Master was in Bed; and, seeing what it was, had brought it the Chancellor:" It imported an Order to an Officer to attend the King with a Party of Horse, for a Guard wherever he went (a respect that never had been paid him before) but not to suffer him, on any terms, to go out of the Town. As soon as the Chancellor had read the Order, he sent his Secretary with it to the King; who was in Bed likewise; and his Majesty having read it, the Secretary returned it to *Galloway*; who went home, and laid it in its place upon his Master's Table. The King commanded the Chancellor's Secretary to call up his Majesty's Quarry, *Sir William Armorer*; and to Him his Majesty gave his Orders, charging him with secrecy, "that he would be gone at three of the Clock that Morning:" and accordingly he went, attended by the Marquis of *Ormond*, *Sir William Amorer*, and two or three Servants more. Between eight and nine that Morning, an Officer did come and inquire for the King; but it happened, by  
this



this seasonable discovery, that his Majesty had made his escape some hours before, to the no small Mortification, no doubt, of the *Spanish* Governor.

As soon as his Majesty came into the States *Demi-* The King  
nions, which was about the midway between *Ant* goes towards  
*werp* and *Breda*, he delivered to Sir *John Greenvil* *Breda*, and  
(who attended there *incognito*, that he might warrant- deliver to Sir  
ably aver to the General, "that he had seen his Ma- John Greenvil  
"jesty out of *Flanders*) all those despatches," which the Letter  
were prepared, and dated, as from *Breda*, upon the prepared.  
same day in which he received them, and where his Majesty was to be that Night. The Copies of all were likewise delivered to him, that the General, upon perusal thereof, might, without opening the Originals, chuse whether he would deliver them, if any thing was contained therein which he disliked; and his Majesty referred it to him to proceed any other way, if, upon any alterations which should happen, he thought fit to vary from his former Advice.

Sir *John Greenvil*, before his Departure, told the King, "that though he had no order to propose it  
"directly to his Majesty; yet he could assure him, it  
"would be the most grateful and obliging thing his  
"Majesty could do towards the General, if he would  
"give him leave to assure him, that, as soon as he  
"came into *England*, he would bestow the Office of  
"one of the Secretaries of State upon Mr. *Morrice*;  
"who was as well qualified for it, as any Man who  
"had not been versed in the knowledge of Foreign  
"Affairs." One of those places was then void by the Earl of *Bristol's* becoming Roman-Catholic, and thereupon resigning the Signet; and his Majesty was

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very glad to lay that obligation upon the General, and to gratify a Person who had so much credit with him, and had already given such manifestation of his good Affection to his Majesty, and directed him to give that Assurance to the General. With these despatches Sir *John Greenvil*, and Mr. *Mordaunt*, who privately expected his return at *Antwerp*. made what haste they could towards *England*: and the King went that Night to *Breda*. The Letters which the King writ to the General, and to the House of Commons and the other Letters, with the Declaration, are here inserted in the terms they were sent.

Sir John  
Greenvil and  
Mr. Mordaunt  
return to  
wards Eng-  
land.

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved General Monk,  
to be by him communicated to the President, and  
Council of State, and to the Officers of the Armies  
under his Command.*

*Charles R.*

The Letter  
of the King to  
the General  
and the Army.

“ Trusty, and Well beloved, We greet you well :  
“ It cannot be believed. but that We have been, are,  
“ and ever must be, as solicitous as We can, by all  
“ endeavours to improve the Affections of Our good  
“ Subjects at home, and to procure the Assistance of  
“ Our Friends and Allies abroad, for the Recovery  
“ of that Right, which, by the Laws of God and  
“ Man, is unquestionable; and of which We have  
“ been so long dispossessed by such force, and with  
“ these circumstances, as We do not desire to aggra-  
“ vate by any sharp Expressions; but rather wish, that  
“ the memory of what is past, may be buried to the  
“ World. That We have more endeavoured to

“ prepare, and to improve the Affections of Our  
 “ Subjects at home for Our Restoration, than to pro-  
 “ cure Assistance from abroad to Invade either of  
 “ Our Kingdoms, is as manifest to the World. And  
 “ We cannot give a better evidence that We are still  
 “ of the same mind, than in This Conjunction; when  
 “ common reason must satisfy all Men, that We can-  
 “ not be without Assistance from abroad. We chuse  
 “ rather to send to you, who have it in your power  
 “ to prevent that ruin and desolation which a War  
 “ would bring upon the Nation, and to make the  
 “ whole Kingdom owe the Peace, Happiness, Secu-  
 “ rity, and Glory it shall enjoy, to your Virtue; and  
 “ to acknowledge that your Armies have complied  
 “ with their obligations, for which they were first  
 “ raised, for the preservation of the Protestant Reli-  
 “ gion, the Honor and Dignity of the King, the Pri-  
 “ vileges of Parliament, the Liberty and Property of  
 “ the Subject, and the fundamental Laws of the Land;  
 “ and that You have vindicated that Trust, which  
 “ others most perfidiously abused and betrayed. How  
 “ much We desire, and resolve to contribute to those  
 “ good Ends, will appear to You by Our inclosed  
 “ Declaration; which We desire you to cause to be  
 “ published for the Information and Satisfaction of all  
 “ good Subjects, who do not desire a farther effusion  
 “ of precious Christian Blood, but to have their  
 “ Peace and Security founded upon that which can  
 “ only support it, an Unity of Affections amongst  
 “ Ourselves, an equal Administration of Justice to  
 “ Men, restoring Parliaments to a full capacity of

**B O O K** “ providing for all that is amiss, and the Laws of the  
**XVI.** “ Land to their due Veneration.”

“ You have been yourselves Witnesses of so many  
“ Revolutions, and have had so much experience,  
“ how far any Power and Authority that is only  
“ assumed by passion and appetite, and not supported  
“ by Justice, is from providing for the Happiness and  
“ Peace of the People, or from receiving any Obe-  
“ dience from them (without which no Govern-  
“ ment can provide for them) that you may very  
“ reasonably believe, that God hath not been so well  
“ pleased with the Attempts that have been made,  
“ since he hath usually increased the Confusion, by  
“ giving all the Success that hath been desired, and  
“ brought that to pass without effect, which the De-  
“ signers have proposed as the best means to settle  
“ and compose the Nation: and therefore We cannot  
“ but hope and believe, that you will concur with  
“ Us in the Remedy We have applied; which, to  
“ human Understanding, is only proper for the ills  
“ We all groan under; and that you will make your-  
“ selves the blessed Instruments to bring this blessing  
“ of Peace and Reconciliation upon King and Peo-  
“ ple, it being the usual method in which Divine  
“ Providence delighteth itself, to use and sanctify  
“ those very means, which ill Men design for the  
“ satisfaction of private and particular Ends and  
“ Ambition, and other wicked purposes, to whole-  
“ some and public Ends, and to establish that Good  
“ which is most contrary to the Designers; which is  
“ the greatest manifestation of God’s peculiar kind-  
“ ness to a Nation that can be given in this World,



“ How far We resolve to preserve your Interests, B O O K  
 “ and reward your Services, We refer to Our Decla- XVI.  
 “ ration; and We hope God will inspire you to per-  
 “ form your Duty to Us, and to your Native Coun-  
 “ try; whose Happiness cannot be separated from  
 “ each other.”

“ We have intrusted Our Well-beloved Servant  
 “ Sir *John Greenvil*, one of the Gentlemen of Our  
 “ Bed-Chamber, to deliver this unto You, and to  
 “ give Us an account of your reception of it, and to  
 “ desire You, in Our Name, that it may be published.  
 “ And so We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th of April  
 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty, and Well-beloved, the Speaker of  
 the House of Commons.*

*Charles R.*

“ Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well: The Letter  
to the House  
of Commons.  
 “ In these great and insupportable Afflictions and  
 “ Calamities, under which the poor Nation hath  
 “ been so long exercised, and by which it is so near  
 “ exhausted, We cannot think of a more natural and  
 “ proper Remedy, than to resort to those for Coun-  
 “ sel and Advice, who have seen and observed the  
 “ first beginning of Our Miseries, the progress from  
 “ bad to worse and the mistakes and misunderstand-  
 “ ings, which have been produced, and contri-  
 “ buted to inconveniencies which were not intended;  
 “ and after so many Revolutions, and the observa-  
 “ tion of what hath attended them, are now trusted

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“ by Our good Subjects to repair the Breaches which  
“ are made, and to provide proper Remedies for  
“ those Evils, and for the lasting Peace, Happiness,  
“ and Security of the Kingdom.

“ We do assure You upon Our Royal word, that  
“ none of Our Predecessors have had a greater esteem  
“ of Parliaments, than We have in Our judgment,  
“ as well as from Our obligation; We do believe  
“ them to be so vital a part of the Constitution of the  
“ Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government  
“ of it, that We well know neither Prince nor Peo-  
“ ple can be in any tolerable degree happy without  
“ them; and therefore you may be confident, that  
“ We shall always look upon their Counsels, as the  
“ best We can receive, and shall be as tender of their  
“ Privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect  
“ them, as of that which is most near to Our-Self,  
“ and most necessary for Our own preservation.

“ And as this is Our opinion of Parliaments, that  
“ their Authority is most necessary for the Govern-  
“ ment of the Kingdom: so We are most confident,  
“ that you believe, and find, that the preservation  
“ of the King's Authority is as necessary for the pre-  
“ servation of Parliaments; and that it is not the  
“ Name, but the right Constitution of them, which  
“ can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those  
“ Evils which are grievous to the People, and which  
“ can thereby establish their Peace and Security. And  
“ therefore We have not the least doubt, but that  
“ you will be as tender in, and as jealous of, any thing  
“ that may infringe Our Honor, or impair Our Au-  
“ thority, as of your own Liberty and Property;  
“ which is best preserved by preserving the other.

“ How far We have trusted you in this great Affair,  
“ and how much it is in your Power to restore the  
“ Nation to all that it hath lost, and to redeem it from  
“ any infamy it hath undergone, and to make the  
“ King and People as happy as they ought to be;  
“ you will find by Our inclosed Declaration; a Copy  
“ of which We have likewise sent to the House of  
“ Peers: and you will easily believe, that We would  
“ not voluntarily, and of Ourselves, have reposed so  
“ great a Trust in you, but upon an entire Confi-  
“ dence that you will not abuse it, and that you will  
“ proceed in such a manner, and with such due con-  
“ sideration of Us who have trusted You, that We  
“ shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance  
“ (which We have assurance of) and repairing to  
“ You for more natural and proper Remedies for  
“ the Evils We could be freed from; nor sorry, that  
“ We have bound up Our own Interests so entirely  
“ with that of Our Subjects, as that We refer it to  
“ the same Persons to take care of Us, who are trust-  
“ ed to provide for them. We look upon You as  
“ wise and dispassionate Men, and good Patriots,  
“ who will raise up those Banks and Fences which  
“ have been cast down, and who will most reasona-  
“ bly hope, that the same prosperity will again spring  
“ from those Roots, from which it hath heretofore  
“ and always grown; nor can We apprehend that  
“ you will propose any thing to Us, or expect any  
“ thing from Us, but what We are as ready to give,  
“ as You to receive.

“ If You desire the Advancement and Propaga-  
“ tion of the Protestant Religion, We have, by Our

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“ constant profession, and practice of it, given sufficient Testimony to the World, that neither the unkindness of those of the same Faith towards Us, nor the Civilities and Obligations from those of a contrary profession (of both which We have had an abundant Evidence) could in the least degree trouble Us, or make Us swerve from it; and nothing can be proposed to manifest Our Zeal and Affection for it, to which We will not readily consent. And We hope, in due time, Ourself to propose somewhat to You for the propagation of it, that will satisfy the World, that We have always made it both Our care and Our study, and have enough observed what is most like to bring disadvantage to it.

“ If You desire security for those who, in these calamitous times, either wilfully or weakly have transgressed those bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded each other's Rights, We have left to you to provide for their Security and Indemnity, and in such a way, as you shall think just and reasonable; and by a just computation of what Men have done, and suffered, as near as is possible, to take care that all Men be satisfied; which is the surest way to suppress, and extirpate all such uncharitableness and animosity, as might hereafter shake and threaten that Peace, which for the present might seem established. If there be a crying Sin, for which the Nation may be involved in the infamy that attends it, We cannot doubt but that you will be as solicitous to redeem it, and vindicate the Nation from that Guilt and Infamy, as We can be.



“ If You desire that Reverence and Obedience  
 “ may be paid to the fundamental Laws of the Land,  
 “ and that Justice may be equally and impartially  
 “ administered to all Men, it is that which We desire  
 “ to be sworn to Ourselves, and that all Persons in  
 “ Power and Authority should be so too.

“ In a word, there is nothing that you can pro-  
 “ pose that may make the Kingdom happy, which  
 “ We will not contend with You to compass; and  
 “ upon this Confidence and Assurance, We have  
 “ thought fit to send you this Declaration, that you  
 “ may, as much as is possible, at this distance, see  
 “ Our Heart; which, when God shall bring Us  
 “ nearer together (as We hope he will do shortly)  
 “ will appear to you very agreeable to what We  
 “ have professed; and We hope, that We have made  
 “ that right Christian use of Our Affliction, and that  
 “ the observation and experience We have had in  
 “ other Countries, have been such, as that We, and,  
 “ We hope, all Our Subjects, shall be the better for  
 “ what We have seen and suffered.

“ We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Al-  
 “ mighty God, that he will so bless your Counsels,  
 “ and direct your Endeavours, that his Glory and  
 “ Worship may be provided for; and the Peace,  
 “ Honor, and Happiness of the Nation, may be estab-  
 “ lished upon those foundations which can best  
 “ support it. And so We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th day of April  
 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

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The King's  
Declaration.*His Majesty's Declaration.**Charles R.*

“ *Charles*, by the Grace of God, King of *England*,  
 “ *Scotland*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the  
 “ Faith, &c To all Our loving Subjects of what  
 “ Degree or Quality soever, Greeting If the general  
 “ distraction, and confusion, which is spread over  
 “ the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to  
 “ a desire, and longing, that those Wounds which  
 “ have so many years together been kept bleeding,  
 “ may be bound up, all We can say will be to no  
 “ purpose. However, after this long silence. We  
 “ have thought it Our Duty to declare, how much  
 “ We desire to contribute thereunto: and that, as  
 “ We can never give over the hope, in good time,  
 “ to obtain the possession of that Right, which God  
 “ and Nature hath made Our due; so We do make  
 “ it Our daily Suit to the Divine Providence, that  
 “ he will, in compassion to Us, and Our Subjects,  
 “ after so long Misery and Sufferings. remit, and put  
 “ Us into a quiet, and peaceable Possession of that  
 “ Our Right, with as little blood and damage to Our  
 “ People as is possible; nor do We desire more to  
 “ enjoy what is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may  
 “ enjoy what by Law is Theirs by a full and entire  
 “ administration of Justice throughout the Land,  
 “ and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted  
 “ and deserved.

“ And to the end that fear of punishment may not  
 “ engage any conscious to themselves of what is past,  
 “ to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by oppo-  
 “ sing the quiet and happiness of their Country, in

“ the Restoration both of King, and Peers, and  
“ People, to their just, ancient, and fundamental  
“ Rights; We do by these presents declare, that We  
“ do grant a free and general Pardon, which We are  
“ ready, upon demand, to pass under Our Great-Seal  
“ of *England*, to all Our Subjects of what Degree or  
“ Quality soever, who within forty days after the  
“ publishing hereof, shall lay hold upon this Our  
“ Grace and Favor, and shall by any Public Act de-  
“ clare their doing so, and that they return to the  
“ Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects; excep-  
“ ting only such Persons as shall hereafter be excep-  
“ ted by Parliament. Those only excepted, let all  
“ Our Subjects, how Faulty soever, rely upon the  
“ word of a King, solemnly given by this present  
“ Declaration, that no Crime whatsoever committed  
“ against Us, or Our Royal Father, before the pu-  
“ blication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be  
“ brought in question, against any of them, to the  
“ least indamagement of them either in their Lives,  
“ Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as lies in Our  
“ Power) so much as to the prejudice of their Repu-  
“ tations, by any reproach, or terms of distinction  
“ from the rest of Our best Subjects; We desiring, and  
“ ordaining, that henceforward all Notes of discord,  
“ separation, and difference of Parties, be utterly  
“ abolished among all Our Subjects; whom We in-  
“ vite and conjure to a perfect Union among them-  
“ selves, under Our Protection, for the Resettlement  
“ of Our just Rights, and Theirs, in a free Parlia-  
“ ment; by which, upon the word of a King, we  
“ Will be advised.

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“ And because the passion and uncharitableness of  
“ the Times, have produced several opinions in Re-  
“ ligion, by which Men are engaged in Parties and  
“ Animosities against each other; which, when they  
“ shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation,  
“ will be composed, or better understood; We do  
“ declare a Liberty to tender Consciences; and that  
“ no Man shall be disquieted, or called in question,  
“ for differences of opinion in matters of Religion  
“ which do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom;  
“ and that We shall be ready to consent to such an  
“ Act of Parliament, as, upon mature deliberation,  
“ shall be offered to Us, for the full granting that  
“ Indulgence.

“ And because in the continued distractions of so  
“ many years, and so many and great Revolutions,  
“ many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been  
“ made to and by many Officers, Soldiers, and  
“ Others, who are now possessed of the same, and  
“ who may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several  
“ Titles; We are likewise willing that all such differ-  
“ ences, and all things relating to such Grants,  
“ Sales, and Purchases, shall be determined in Par-  
“ liament; which can best provide for the just satis-  
“ faction of all Men who are concerned.

“ And We do farther declare, that We will be  
“ ready to consent to any Act or Acts of Parliament  
“ to the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfac-  
“ tion of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers  
“ of the Army under the Command of General *Monk*;  
“ and that they shall be received into Our Service



“ upon as good pay, and conditions, as they now  
 “ enjoy.”

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*Given under Our Sign Manual, and Privy Signet, at  
 Our Court at Breda, the 14th day of April, 1660,  
 in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*Charles R.*

“ Right Trusty and Right Well-beloved Cousins,  
 “ and Right Trusty and Well-beloved Cousins, and  
 “ Trusty and Right Well beloved; We greet you  
 “ Well. We cannot have a better reason to promise  
 “ Ourself an end of Our common sufferings and cala-  
 “ mities, and that Our own just Power and Autho-  
 “ rity will, with God’s blessing, be restored to Us,  
 “ than that You are again acknowledged to have that  
 “ Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always be-  
 “ longed to you by your Birth, and the fundamen-  
 “ tal Laws of the Land: and We have thought it  
 “ very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your Help,  
 “ in the composing the confounding distempers and  
 “ distractions of the Kingdom; in which Your suf-  
 “ ferings are next to those We have undergone Our-  
 “ self; and therefore You cannot but be the most  
 “ proper Counsellors for removing those Mischiefs,  
 “ and for preventing the like for the future. How  
 “ great a Trust We repose in you, for the procuring  
 “ and establishing a blessed Peace and Security for  
 “ the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed  
 “ Declaration; which Trust, We are most confident  
 “ you will discharge with that Justice, and Wisdom,  
 “ that becomes you, and must always be expected  
 “ from you; and that, upon your experience how

His Majesty’s  
 Letter to the  
 House of  
 Lords.

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“ one violation succeeds another, when the known  
 “ Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed,  
 “ you will be as jealous for the Rights of the Crown,  
 “ and for the Honor of your King, as for Yourself:  
 “ and then you cannot but discharge your  
 “ Trust with good Success, and provide for, and  
 “ establish the Peace, Happiness, and Honor of King,  
 “ Lords, and Commons, upon that foundation which  
 “ can only support it; and We shall be all happy in  
 “ each other: and as the whole Kingdom will bless  
 “ God for You all, so We shall hold Ourselves obliged  
 “ in an especial manner to thank You in particular,  
 “ according to the Affection You shall express to-  
 “ wards Us. We need the less enlarge to you upon  
 “ this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the  
 “ House of Commons; which We suppose they will  
 “ communicate to you. And We pray God to bless  
 “ your joint Endeavours for the good of Us all. And  
 “ so We bid you very heartily farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, this 14th day of  
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well beloved General Monk, and  
 General Mountague, Generals at Sea, to be  
 communicated to the Fleet.*

*Charles R.*

His Majesty's  
 Letter to the  
 Fleet.

“ Trusty and Well-beloved. We greet you well.  
 “ It is no small comfort to Us, after so long and great  
 “ Troubles and Miseries, which the whole Nation  
 “ hath groaned under; and after so great Revolu-  
 “ tions, which have still increased those Miseries,

“ to hear that the Fleet and Ships, which are the  
 “ Walls of the Kingdom, are put under the Com-  
 “ mand of two Persons so well disposed to, and con-  
 “ cerned in, the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom,  
 “ as We believe You to be; and that the Officers  
 “ and Seamen under your Command, are more in-  
 “ clined to return to their duty to Us, and put  
 “ a period to these distempers and distractions,  
 “ which have so impoverished, and dishonored the  
 “ Nation, than to widen the Breach, and to raise  
 “ their Fortunes by rapine and violence; which  
 “ gives Us great encouragement and hope, that God  
 “ Almighty will heal the Wounds by the same Plaister  
 “ that made the flesh raw; that he will proceed in  
 “ the same Method in pouring his Blessings upon  
 “ Us, which he was pleased to use, when he began  
 “ to afflict us; and that the manifestation of the good  
 “ Affection of the Fleet and Seamen towards Us, and  
 “ the Peace of the Nation may be the Prologue to  
 “ that Peace, which was first interrupted by the Mis-  
 “ take and Misunderstanding of their Predecessors;  
 “ which would be such a Blessing upon Us all, that  
 “ We should not be less delighted with the manner,  
 “ than the matter of it.

“ In this hope and confidence, We have sent the  
 “ inclosed Declaration to you; by which you may  
 “ discern, how much We are willing to contribute  
 “ towards the obtaining the general and Public Peace,  
 “ in which, as no Man can be more, or so much, con-  
 “ cerned, so no Man can be more solicitous for it.  
 “ And We do earnestly desire you, that you will  
 “ cause the said Declaration to be published to all the

**B O O K** “ Officers and Seamen of the Fleet ; to the end, that  
**XVI.** “ they may plainly discern, how much We have put  
 “ it into Their power to provide for the Peace and  
 “ Happiness of the Nation, who have been always  
 “ understood by them to be the best and most proper  
 “ Counsellors for those good ends : and You are like-  
 “ wise farther to declare to them, that We have the  
 “ same gracious purpose towards Them, which We  
 “ have expressed towards the Army at Land ; and  
 “ will be as ready to provide for the payment of all  
 “ Arrears due to them, and for rewarding them ac-  
 “ cording to their several Merits, as We have expres-  
 “ sed to the other ; and We will always take so parti-  
 “ cular a care of them and their Condition, as shall  
 “ manifest Our kindness towards them And so  
 “ depending upon God’s Blessing, for intusing those  
 “ good Resolutions into Your, and Their Hearts,  
 “ which are best for Us all ; We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Brella, this 14 day of  
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of Our Reign.*

*To Our Trusty and Well-beloved the Lord Mayor,  
 Aldermen, and Common Council, of Our City of  
 London.*

*Charles R.*

**His Majesty’s  
 Letter to the  
 Lord Mayor  
 and Alder-  
 men of the  
 City of  
 London.**

“ Trusty and Well-beloved, We greet you well.  
 “ In these great Revolutions of late, happened in  
 “ that Our Kingdom, to the wonder and amazement  
 “ of all the world, there is none that We have looked  
 “ upon with more comfort, than the so frequent and  
 “ public manifestations of their Affections to Us in  
 the



“ the City of *London*; which hath exceedingly  
 “ raised Our Spirits, and which, no doubt, hath pro-  
 “ ceeded from the Spirit of God, and his extraor-  
 “ dinary Mercy to the Nation; which hath been  
 “ encouraged by You, and your good Example, to  
 “ assert that Government under which it hath, so  
 “ many hundred years, enjoyed as great felicity as  
 “ any Nation in *Europe*; and to discountenance the  
 “ Imaginations of those who would subject Our  
 “ Subjects to a Government they have not yet devis-  
 “ ed, and, to satisfy the pride and ambition of a few  
 “ ill Men, would introduce the most Arbitrary and  
 “ Tyrannical Power that was ever yet heard of. How  
 “ long We have all suffered under those and the like  
 “ devices, all the world takes notice, to the no small  
 “ reproach of the *English* Nation; which We hope is  
 “ now providing for its own Security and Redemp-  
 “ tion, and will be no longer bewitched by those  
 “ Inventions.

“ How desirous We are to contribute to the obtain-  
 “ ing the Peace and Happiness of our Subjects  
 “ without effusion of blood; and how far We are from  
 “ desiring to recover what belongs to Us by a War,  
 “ if it can be otherwise done, will appear to you by  
 “ the inclosed Declaration; which, together with  
 “ this Our Letter, We have intrusted Our Right  
 “ Trusty and Well-beloved Cousin, the Lord  
 “ Viscount *Mordaunt*, and Our Trusty and Well-be-  
 “ loved Servant, Sir *John Greenvil*, Knight, one of the  
 “ Gentlemen of Our Bed-Chamber, to deliver to  
 “ you; to the end, that You, and all the rest of Our  
 “ good Subjects of that Our City of *London* (to whom

**B O O K** “ We desire it should be published) may know, how  
**XVI.** “ far We are from the desire of revenge, or that the  
 “ Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom,  
 “ should be raised upon any other foundation than  
 “ the affections and hearts of Our Subjects, and their  
 “ own Consents.

“ We have not the least doubt of your just sense of  
 “ these our Condescensions, or of your Zeal to ad-  
 “ vance and promote the same good end, by dispo-  
 “ sing all Men to meet Us with the same affection  
 “ and tenderness, in restoring the fundamental Laws  
 “ to that Reverence that is due to them, and upon  
 “ the preservation whereof all our happiness depends.  
 “ And you will have no reason to doubt of enjoying  
 “ your full share in that happiness, and of the impro-  
 “ ving it by our particular affection to you. It is very  
 “ natural for all Men to do all the good they can for  
 “ their Native Country, and to advance the honor of  
 “ it; and We have that full Affection for the Kingdom  
 “ in general, so We would not be thought to be with-  
 “ out some Extraordinary kindness for Our Native  
 “ City in that particular; which We shall manifest on  
 “ all occasions, not only by renewing their Charter,  
 “ and confirming all those Privileges which they  
 “ have received from Our Predecessors, but by ad-  
 “ ding and granting any new Favors, which may  
 “ advance the Trade, Wealth, and Honor of that  
 “ Our Native City; for which We will be so soli-  
 “ citous, that We doubt not but that it will, in due  
 “ time, receive some Benefit and Advantage in all  
 “ those respects, even from Our own observation and  
 “ experience abroad. And We are most confident,

“ We shall never be disappointed in Our expectation **BOOK**  
 “ of all possible Service from your Affections: And **XVI.**  
 “ so We bid you farewell.”

*Given at Our Court at Breda, the 14<sup>th</sup> day of  
 April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our Reign.*

The two Gentlemen lately mentioned to have been **Sir John**  
 with the King returned to *London* before the defeat of **Greenvil**  
*Lambert*, and a full week before the Parliament was **arrives in**  
 to begin. The General, upon the perusal of the Copies **England, and**  
 of the several despatches, liked all very well. And it **communicates**  
 ought to be remembered for his honor, that from this **the Letter to**  
 time he behaved himself with great affection towards **the General.**  
 the King; and though he was offered all the Autho-  
 rity that *Cromwell* had enjoyed, and the Title of King, **The General's**  
 he used all his endeavours to promote and advance the **behaviour**  
 Interest of his Majesty: yet he as carefully retained **after that**  
 the Secret, and did not Communicate to any Person **time.**  
 living ( *Mr. Morrice* only excepted ) that he had re-  
 ceived any Letter from the King, till the very minute  
 that he presented it to the House of Commons.

There happened at the same time a concurrence, **Declarations**  
 which much facilitated the great work in hand. For **of the King's**  
 since a great obstruction that hindered the Universal **party at this**  
 consent to call in the King, was the Conscience of the **time; which**  
 personal injuries, incivilities, reproachful, and barbar- **had great**  
 ous usage, which all the Royal Party had sustained, **effect.**  
 and the Apprehension that their Animosities were so  
 great, that, notwithstanding all Acts of Pardon and  
 Indemnity granted by the King, all opportunities  
 would be embraced for secret revenge, and that They  
 who had been kept under, and oppressed for near

**B O O K** twenty years, would for the future use the power they  
**XVI.** could not be without upon the King's Restoration, with extreme Licence and Insolence; to obviate this too reasonable imagination, some discreet Persons of the King's Party caused a Declaration to be prepared; in which (after their acknowledgments and thanks to the General, "for having, next under the Divine  
" Providence, so far conducted these Nations towards  
" a happy recovery of their Laws, and ancient Government) they sincerely professed, that they  
" reflected on their past Sufferings as from the hand  
" of God; and therefore did not cherish any violent  
" thoughts or inclinations against any Persons whatsoever, who had been any way instrumental in  
" them; and that, if the indiscretion of any particular  
" Persons should transport them to Expressions contrary to this their general Sense, they utterly  
" disclaimed them." They farther promised, "by  
" their quiet and peaceable behaviour, to testify their  
" submission to the Council of State, in expectation  
" of the future Parliament; on whose wisdom, they  
" trusted, God would give such a Blessing, as might  
" produce a perfect Settlement both in Church and  
" State." And lastly they declared, "that, as the  
" General had not chosen the sandy foundations of  
" Self-Government, but the firm Rock of National  
" Interest, whereon to frame a settlement, so it was  
" their hope and prayer, that, when the building  
" should come to be raised, it might not, like *Rome*,  
" have the beginning in the blood of Brethren; nor,  
" like *Babel*, be interrupted by confusion of Tongues; but that all might speak one Language, and



“ be of one Name; that all mention of Parties and  
 “ Factions, and all Rancor and Animosities may be  
 “ thrown in, and buried, like Rubbish under the  
 “ Foundation.”

These professions, or to the same purpose, under the Title of a Declaration of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Clergy, that had served the late King. or his present Majesty, or adhered to the Royal Party in such a City or County, which was named, were Signed by all the considerable Persons therein; as This that We have here mentioned, was subscribed by great Numbers in and about the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*; and so were several others from other places; and then all Printed with their Names, and published to the view of the world; which were received with great joy, and did much allay those jealousies, which obstructed the confidence that was necessary to establish a good Understanding between them.

Nothing hath been of late said of *Ireland*; which waited upon the dictates of the Governing Party in *England* with the same giddiness. The *Irish*, who would now have been glad to have redeemed their past Miscarriages and Madness by doing Service for the King, were under as severe a Captivity, and complete Misery, as the worst of their Actions had deserved, and indeed as they were capable of undergoing. After near one hundred thousand of them Transported into Foreign parts, for the Service of the two Kings of *France* and *Spain*, few of whom were alive after seven years, and after double that Number consumed by the Plague and Famine, and Severities

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The Affairs  
 of Ireland for  
 some years past  
 till this time.

**B O O K** exercised upon them in their own Country; the  
**XVI.** remainder of them had been by *Cromwell* (who could not find a better way of extirpation) transplanted into the most island barren desolate, and mountainous part of the Province of *Conaught*: and it was lawful for any Man to kill any of the *Irish*, who were found in any place out of those precincts which were assigned to them within that Circuit. Such a proportion of Land was allotted to every Man as the Protector thought competent for them; upon which they were to give formal Releases of all their pretences and titles to any Lands in any other Provinces, of which they had been deprived: and if they refused to give such Releases, they were still deprived of what they would not Release, without any reasonable hope of ever being restored to it; and left to starve within the Limits prescribed to them; out of which they durst not withdraw; and They who did adventure, were without all remorse prosecuted by the *English*, as soon as they were discovered: so that very few refused to sign those Releases, or other Acts which were demanded, upon which the Lords and Gentlemen, had such Assignments of Land made to them, as in some degree were proportionable to their Qualities; which fell out less mischievously to those who were of that Province who came to enjoy some part of what had been their own; but to those who were driven thither out of other Provinces, it was little less destructive than if they had nothing; it was so long before they could settle themselves, and by Husbandry raise any thing out of their Lands to support their Lives: yet necessity obliged them to acquiescence,

and to be in some sort industrious ; so that at the time to which we are now arrived, they were settled, within the Limits prescribed, in a condition of living ; though even the hard Articles which had been granted, were not punctually observed to them ; but their proportions restrained, and lessened by some pretences of the *English*, under some former Grants, or other Titles ; to all which they found it necessary to submit, and were compelled to enjoy what was left, under all the marks and brands which ever accompanied a Conquered Nation ; which reproach the *Irish* had taken so heavily from the Earl of *Strafford*, when they were equally free with the *English*, who had subdued them, that they made it part of that Charge upon which he lost his Life.

Upon the recalling, and tame Submission of *Harry Cromwell* to the Rump-Parliament, as soon as his Brother *Richard* was deposed, the Factions increased in *Ireland* to a very great height, as well amongst the Soldiers and Officers of the Army, as in the Council of State, and amongst the Civil-Magistrates. The Lord *Broghill*, who was President of *Munster*, and of a very great interest, and influence upon that whole Province, though he had great wariness in discovering his Inclinations, as he had great guilt to restrain them, yet hated *Lambert* so much, that he less feared the King ; and so wished for a safe opportunity to do his Majesty Service ; and he had a good Post, and a good Party to concur with him, when he should call upon them, and think fit to declare.

Sir *Charles Coot*, who was President of *Conaught*, and had a good Command, and Interest in the Army,

BOOK XVI. was a Man of less Guilt, and more Courage, and impatience to serve the King. He sent over Sir *Arthur Forbes*, a *Scottish* Gentleman of good Affection to the King, and good Interest in the Province of *Ulster*, where he was an Officer of Horse. This Gentleman Sir *Charles* went to *Brussels* to the Marquis of *Ormond*, "that he might assure his Majesty of his Affection and Duty; and that, if his Majesty would vouchsafe himself to come into *Ireland*, he was confident the whole Kingdom would declare for him: that though the present Power in *England* had removed all the sober Men from the Government of the State, in *Ireland*, under the Character of Presbyterians; and had put *Ludlow*, *Corbet*, and others of the King's Judges in their places. yet they were so generally odious to the Army as well as to the People, that they could seize upon their Persons, and the very Castle of *Dublin*, when they should judge it convenient.

Sir *Arthur Forbes* arrived at *Brussels*, before the King had any assurance or confident hope of the General, and when few Men thought his Fortune better than desperate: so that, if what Sir *Arthur* proposed (which was kept very secret) had been published, most Men about the Court would have been very solicitous for his Majesty's going into *Ireland*. But his Majesty well knew that that unhappy Kingdom must infallibly wait upon the fate of *England*; and therefore he resolved to attend the vicissitudes there; which, in his own thoughts, he still believed would produce somewhat, in the end, of which he should have the benefit; and dismissed Sir *Arthur Forbes*



with such Letters and Commissions as he desired; who thereupon returned for *Ireland*; where he found the State of Affairs very much altered since his departure. For upon the Defeat of *Lambert*, and General *Monk's* marching towards *London*, the Lord *Broghill*, and Sir *Charles Coot*, notwithstanding the jealousy that was between them, joined with such other Persons who were Presbyterians, and though they had been always against the King, yet they all concurred in seizing upon the Persons who had been put in by *Lambert*, or the Rump-Parliament, and submitted to the Orders of General *Monk*, the rather, because they did imagine that he intended to serve the King; and so, by the time that the Parliament was to meet at *Westminster*, all things were so well disposed in *Ireland*, that it was evident they would do whatsoever the General, and the Parliament (who they presumed would be of one mind) should order them to do.

The Parliament met upon the five-and-twentieth day of *April*; of which the General was returned a Member. to serve as Knight of the Shire for the County of *Devon*; Sir *Harbottle Grimstone* was chosen Speaker, who had been a Member of the long Parliament, and continued. rather than concurred, with them till after the Treaty of the Isle of *Wight*; where he was one of the Commissioners sent to Treat with that King, and behaved himself so well, that his Majesty was well satisfied with him; and after his return from thence, he pressed the acceptance of the King's Concessions; and was thereupon in the Number of those who were by force excluded the House. His

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The Parlia-  
ment met  
April 25.  
Sir Harbottle  
Grimstone  
chosen  
Speaker.

**BOOK** Election to be Speaker at this time was contrived  
**XVI.** by those who meant well to the King; and he submitted to it out of a hope and confidence that the designs it was laid for would succeed. They begun chiefly with bitter Invectives against the Memory of *Cromwell*, as an odious and perjured Tyrant, with Execrations upon the unchristian Murder of the late King. And in these generals they spent the first days of sitting; no Man having the Courage, how Loyal soever their wishes were, to mention his Majesty, till they could make a discovery what mind the General was of; who, could only protect such a Proposition from being penal to the Person that made it, by the former Ordinances of the Rump-Parliament.

Their first  
 Proceedings.

May the  
 first the General acquaints the House of Sir J. Greenvil's bringing him a Letter from the King. Sir J. Greenvil is called in, and delivers the Letter to the House of Commons.

After the General had well surveyed the temper of the House upon the first of *May* he came into the House, and told them, "one Sir *John Greenvil*, who " was a Servant of the King's, had brought him a " Letter from his Majesty; which he had in his " hand, but would not presume to open it without " Their direction; and that the same Gentleman was " at the door. and had a Letter to the House:" which was no sooner said, than with a general Acclamation he was called for; and being brought to the Bar, he said, "that he was commanded by the " King his Master, having been lately with him at " *Breda*, to deliver that Letter to the House:" which he was ready to do; and so, giving it by the Serjeant to be delivered to the Speaker, he withdrew.

Both Letters,  
 and the Declaration,  
 read.

The House immediately called to have both Letters read, that to the General, and that to the Speaker; which being done, the Declaration was as greedily

called for, and read. And from this time *Charles Stuart* **B O O K**  
 was no more heard of: and so universal a Joy was **XVI.**  
 never seen within those Walls; and though there **Received**  
 were some Members there, who were nothing de- **with univer-**  
 lighted with the temper of the House, nor with the **sal Joy.**  
 Argument of it, and probably had malice enough to  
 make within themselves the most execrable wishes,  
 yet they had not the hardiness to appear less trans-  
 ported than the rest; who, not deserting it one  
 Moment, and without one contradicting Voice, ap- **A Committee**  
 pointed a Committee to prepare an Answer to his **appointed**  
 Majesty's Letter, expressing the great and joyful sense **to prepare**  
 the House had of his gracious Offers, and their humble **an Answer.**  
 and hearty thanks for the same, and with professions  
 of their Loyalty and Duty to his Majesty; and that  
 the House would give a speedy Answer to his Ma-  
 jesty's gracious Proposals. They likewise Ordered, **All Ordered**  
 at the same time, that both his Majesty's Letters, that **to be printed.**  
 to the House, and that to the General, with his  
 Majesty's Declaration therein inclosed, and the Reso-  
 lution of the House thereupon, should be forthwith  
 Printed and Published.

This kind of Reception was beyond what the best  
 affected, nay even the King, could expect or hope;  
 and all that followed went in the same pace. The  
 Lords, when they saw what Spirit the House of Com-  
 mons was possessed of, would not lose Their share of  
 Thanks, but made haste into their House without  
 excluding any who had been sequestered from sitting  
 there for their Delinquency; and then they received  
 likewise the Letter from Sir *John Greenvil* which his **Sir J. Green-**  
 Majesty had directed to them; and they received it **vil delivers**  
 the Letter to

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the House of  
Lords :The Lord  
Mayor, &c.  
receive their  
Letter with  
the same du-  
ty: So does  
the Army  
and Fleet.

with the same Duty and acknowledgment. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council, were likewise transported with the King's goodness towards them, and with the Expressions of his Royal Clemency; and entered into close Deliberation, what return they should make to him to manifest their Duty and Gratitude. And the Officers of the Army, and Fleet, upon the sight of the Letters to their Generals, and his Majesty's Declaration, thought themselves highly honored, in that they were looked upon as good Instruments of his Majesty's Restoration; and made those Vows, and published such Declarations of their Loyalty and Duty, as their Generals, caused to be provided for them; which they signed with the loudest alacrity. And the truth is, the General managed the business, which he now owned himself to have undertaken, with wonderful prudence and dexterity. And as the nature and humor of his Officers was well known to him, so he removed such from their Commands whose Affections he suspected, and conferred their places upon others, of whom he was most assured. In a word, there was either real Joy in the Hearts of all Men, or at least their Countenance appeared such as if they were glad at the Heart.

The Committee who were appointed by the House of Commons to prepare an Answer to the King's Letter, found it hard to satisfy all Men, who were well contented that the King should be invited to return: but some thought, that the Guilt of the Nation did require less precipitation than was like to be used; and that the Treaty ought first to be made



with the King, and Conditions of Security agreed on, before his Majesty should be received. Many of those, who had conferred together before the meeting of the Parliament, had designed some Articles to be prepared, according to the Model of those at *Killingworth*, in the time of King *Henry* the Third, to which the King should be sworn before he came home. Then the Presbyterian Party, of which there were many Members in Parliament, though they were rather Troublesome than Powerful, seemed very solicitous that somewhat should be concluded in veneration of the Covenant; and, at least, that somewhat should be inserted in their Answer to the discountenance of the Bishops. But the warmer Zeal of the House threw away all those formalities and affectations: They said, "they had proceeded too far already in their Vote upon the receipt of the Letter, to fall back again, and to offend the King with colder Expressions of their Duty." In the end, after some days debate, finding an equal impatience without the Walls to that within the House, they were contented to gratify the Presbyterians in the length of the Answer, and in using some Expressions which would please Them, and could do the King no prejudice; and all agreed, that This Answer should be returned to his Majesty, which is here inserted in the very words.

*Most Royal Sovereign,*

" We Your Majesty's most Loyal Subjects, the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament, do, with all humbleness, present unto Your Majesty

The Answer  
of the House  
of Commons  
to the King.

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“ the unfeigned thankfulness of Our hearts, for those  
“ gracious Expressions of Piety, and Goodness and  
“ Love to Us, and the Nations under Your Domi-  
“ nion, which your Majesty’s Letter of the 4 of  
“ *April*, dated from *Breda* together with the Decla-  
“ ration inclosed in it of the same date, do so evi-  
“ dently contain. For which We do, in the first place,  
“ look up to the great King of King’s, and bless his  
“ Name, who hath put these thoughts into the Heart  
“ of Our King, to make him glorious in the Eyes of  
“ his People; as those great Deliverances which that  
“ Divine Majesty hath afforded unto Your Royal  
“ Person, from many dangers, and the support which  
“ he hath given to your Heroic and Princely mind  
“ under various Trials, make it appear to all the  
“ World that You are precious in His sight. And  
“ give Us leave to say, that as your Majesty is pleased  
“ to declare Your Confidence in Parliaments, Your  
“ Esteem of them, and this Your Judgment, and  
“ Character of them, that they are so necessary for  
“ the Government of the Kingdom, that neither  
“ Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree  
“ happy without them, and therefore say, that You  
“ will hearken unto their Counsels, be tender of their  
“ Privileges, and careful to preserve, and protect  
“ them; so We trust, and will, with all humility, be  
“ bold to affirm, that your Majesty will not be de-  
“ ceived in Us, and that We will never depart from  
“ that Fidelity which We owe unto your Majesty,  
“ that Zeal which We bear unto your Service, and  
“ a constant endeavour to advance Your Honor and  
“ Greatness.”

“ And we beseech your Majesty, We may add  
 “ this farther for the vindication of Parliaments, and  
 “ even of the last Parliament, convened under your  
 “ Royal Father of happy Memory, when, as your  
 “ Majesty well observes, through mistakes, and  
 “ misunderstandings, many inconveniences were  
 “ produced, which were not intended, that those  
 “ very inconveniences could not have been brought  
 “ upon Us by those Persons who had designed  
 “ them, without violating the Parliament itself.  
 “ For they well knew it was not possible to do a  
 “ violence to that Sacred Person, whilst the Par-  
 “ liament, which had vowed and covenanted for  
 “ the defence and safety of that Person, remained  
 “ entire. Surely, Sir, as the Persons of Our Kings  
 “ have ever been dear unto Parliaments, so We can-  
 “ not think of that horrid Act committed against the  
 “ precious life of Our late Sovereign, but with such  
 “ a detestation, and abhorrency, as We want words  
 “ to express it; and, next to wishing it had never  
 “ been, We wish it may never be remembered by  
 “ your Majesty, to be unto you an occasion of sor-  
 “ row; as it will never be remembered by Us, but  
 “ with that grief and trouble of mind which it de-  
 “ serves; being the greatest reproach that ever was  
 “ incurred by any of the *English* Nation, an Offence  
 “ to all the Protestant Churches abroad, and a scandal  
 “ to the profession of the truth of Religion here at  
 “ home; though both Profession, and true Professors,  
 “ and the Nation itself, as well as the Parliament,  
 “ were most innocent of it; it having been only the  
 “ Contrivance and Act of some few Ambitious and

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“ Bloody Persons, and such others, as by Their influence were missed. And as We hope and pray, that God will not impute the guilt of it, nor of all the evil Consequences thereof, unto the Land, whose Divine Justice never involves the guiltless with the guilty, so We cannot but give due praise to your Majesty’s goodness, who are pleased to entertain such reconciled, and reconciling thoughts, and with them not only meet, but as it were prevent your Parliament and People, proposing yourself in a great measure, and inviting the Parliament to consider farther, and advise your Majesty, what may be necessary to restore the Nation to what it hath lost, raise up again the Banks and Fences of it, and make the Kingdom happy by the advancement of Religion, the Security of Our Laws, Liberties, and Estates, and the removing all Jealousies and Animosities, which may render our Peace less certain and durable. Wherein your Majesty gives a large Evidence of your great Wisdom; judging aright, that, after so high a distemper, and such an universal shaking of the very foundations, great care must be had to repair the breaches, and much circumspection and industry used to provide things necessary for the strengthening of those repairs, and preventing whatsoever may disturb or weaken them. ”

“ We shall immediately apply ourselves to the preparing of these things; and in a very short time, We hope to be able to present them to your Majesty; and for the present do with all humble thankfulness, acknowledge your Grace and Favor in assuring Us  
of



“ of your Royal concurrence with Us, and saying, B O O K  
 “ that we shall not expect any thing from you, but XVI.  
 “ what You will be as ready to give, as We to receive.  
 “ And We cannot doubt of your Majesty’s effectual  
 “ performance since your own Princely judgment  
 “ hath prompted unto you the necessity of doing such  
 “ things; and your piety and goodness hath carried  
 “ you to a free tender of them to your faithful Parlia-  
 “ ment. You speak as a Gracious King, and We will  
 “ do what befits Dutiful, Loving, and Loyal Subjects;  
 “ who are yet more engaged to honor, and highly  
 “ esteem your Majesty, for your declining, as you  
 “ were pleased to say, all Foreign Assistance, and  
 “ rather trusting to your People; who, We do assure  
 “ your Majesty, will, and do open their Arms and  
 “ their Hearts to receive you, and will spare neither  
 “ their Estates, nor their Lives, when your Service  
 “ shall require it of them.

“ And We have yet more Cause to enlarge our  
 “ Praise and our Prayers to God for your Majesty,  
 “ that You have continued unshaken in your faith;  
 “ that neither the temptation of allurements, persua-  
 “ sions, and promises from seducing Papists on the  
 “ one hand, nor the persecution and hard usage from  
 “ some seduced, and misguided Professors of the Pro-  
 “ testant Religion on the other hand, could at all  
 “ prevail on your Majesty, to make You forsake the  
 “ Rock of *Israel*, the God of your Fathers, and the  
 “ true Protestant Religion, in which your Majesty  
 “ hath been bred; but you have still been as a Rock  
 “ Yourself, firm to your Covenant with Your and  
 “ Our God, even now expressing your Zeal and  
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“ Affection for the Protestant Religion, and your care  
 “ and study for the propagation thereof. This hath  
 “ been a rejoicing of heart to all the faithful of the  
 “ Land, and an Assurance to them that God would  
 “ not forsake you ; but after many Trials, which  
 “ should but make you more precious, as Gold out  
 “ of the fire, would restore your Majesty unto your  
 “ Patrimony, and People, with more Splendor and  
 “ Dignity, and make you the Glory of Kings, and the  
 “ Joy of your Subjects : which is, and shall ever be,  
 “ the Prayer of your Majesty’s most Loyal Subjects,  
 “ the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.”

*Which Letter was signed by Sir Harbottle Grimstone  
 Speaker.*

This Answer  
 is delivered  
 to Sir John  
 Grenvil.

As soon as this Letter was engrossed and signed, Sir  
*John Grenvil* was appointed to attend again ; and he  
 being brought to the Bar, the Speaker stood up, and  
 told him, “ that They need not acquaint him with  
 “ what grateful hearts they had received his Majes-  
 “ ty’s gracious Letter ; he himself was an ear and  
 “ eye-witness of it : their Bells and their Bonfires  
 “ had already begun the Proclamation of his Majesty’s  
 “ goodness, and of Their joys ; that they had now  
 “ prepared an Answer to his Majesty, which should  
 “ be delivered to him ; and that they did not think  
 “ fit he should return to their Royal Sovereign with-  
 “ out some testimony of their respects to himself ;  
 “ and therefore that they had ordered five hundred  
 “ pounds to be delivered to him, to buy a Jewel to  
 “ wear, as an honor for being the Messenger of so  
 “ gracious a Message ; and in the Name of the House

he gave him their most hearty thanks. So great and sudden a Change was this, that a Servant of the King's, who, for near ten years together, had been in Prisons, and under confinements, only for being the King's Servant, and would, but three Months before, have been put to have undergone a shameful death, if he had been known to have seen the King, should be now rewarded for bringing a Message from him. From this time there was such an Emulation and Impatience in Lords, and Commons, and City, and generally over the Kingdom, who should make the most lively Expressions of their Duty and of their Joy, that a Man could not but wonder where those People dwelt who had done all the mischief, and kept the King so many years from enjoying the comfort and support of such excellent Subjects.

The Lords and the Commons now conferred together, how they might with more Lustre perform those respects that might be preparatory to his Majesty's Return. They remembered, that, upon the Murder of the late King, there was a Declaration, that no Man, upon peril of his life, and forfeiture of his Estate, should presume to proclaim his Successor; which so terrified the People, that they scarce dared so much as to pray for him. Wherefore, though this Parliament had now, by all the ways they could think of, published their return to their obedience, yet they thought it necessary, for the better information and conviction of the People, to make some solemn Proclamation of his Majesty's undoubted Right to the Crown, and to oblige all Men to pay that reverence, and duty to him, which they ought to do by the Laws

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**B O O K** of God and of the Land. Whereupon they gave order  
**XVI.** to prepare such a Proclamation; which being done, the Lords and Commons, the General having concerted all things with the City, met in *Westminster-Hall* upon the 8<sup>th</sup> of *May*, within seven days after the receipt of the King's Letter; and walked into the *Palace-yard*; where they all stood bare, whilst the Heralds proclaimed the King. Then they went to *White Hall*, and did the same; and afterwards at *Temple-Bar*; where the Lord Mayor, and Aldermen, and all the Companies of the City received them, when the like Proclamation was made in like manner there; and then in the usual places of the City; which done, the remainder of the Day, and the Night, was spent in those Acclamations, Festivals, Bells and Bonfires, as are the natural Attendants upon such Solemnities. And then nothing was thought of, but to make such preparations as should be necessary for his Majesty's invitation and Reception. The Proclamation made was in these words:

The King  
 proclaimed  
 May 8.

“ Although it can no way be doubted, but that his  
 “ Majesty's Right, and Title to his Crown and King-  
 “ doms, is, and was every way completed by the  
 “ death of his most Royal Father of glorious Me-  
 “ mory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a  
 “ Proclamation; yet, since Proclamations in such  
 “ Cases have been always used, to the end that all  
 “ good Subjects might, upon this occasion, testify  
 “ their duty and respect, and since the armed violence,  
 “ and other the Calamities of many years last past,  
 “ have hitherto deprived Us of any such opportunity,  
 “ whereby We might express Our Loyalty and



“ Allegiance to his Majesty, We therefore, the Lords **B O O K**  
 “ and Commons now Assembled in Parliament, to- **XVI.**  
 “ gether with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Com-  
 “ mons of the City of *London*, and other Freemen of  
 “ this Kingdom now present, do, according to our  
 “ Duty and Allegiance, heartily, joyfully, and unani-  
 “ mously acknowledge and proclaim, that immedi-  
 “ ately upon the decease of Our late Sovereign Lord  
 “ King *Charles*, the imperial Crown of the Realm of  
 “ *England*, and of all the Kingdoms, Dominions, and  
 “ Rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent  
 “ Birth-right and lawful undoubted Succession, de-  
 “ scend and come to his most excellent Majesty *Char-*  
 “ *les* the Second, as being lineally justly, and lawfully  
 “ next Heir of the blood Royal of this Realm; and  
 “ that, by the Goodness and Providence of Almighty  
 “ God, He is of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*,  
 “ the most Potent, Mighty, and undoubted King;  
 “ and thereunto We most humbly and faithfully do  
 “ submit, and oblige our-Selves, our Heirs, and Pos-  
 “ terity for ever.”

From the time that the King came to *Breda*, very **Many Ad-**  
 few days passed without some Express from *London*, **dresses to the**  
 upon the observations of his Friends, and the Appli- **King.**  
 cations made to them by many who had been very  
 active against the King, and were now as solicitous  
 his Majesty should know, that they wholly dedicat-  
 ed themselves to his Service. Even before the General  
 had declared himself, or the Parliament was Assem-  
 bled, some, who had sat Judges upon his Father,  
 sent many Excuses, that they were forced to it, and  
 offered to perform signal Services, if they might obtain

**BOOK** their Pardon. But his Majesty would admit no Address from them, nor hearken to any Propositions made on their behalf.

The Particular Case of  
Ingoldsbey,

**XVI.** There was one instance that perplexed him; which was the Case of Colonel *Ingoldsbey*; who was in the Number of the late King's Judges, and whose Name was in the Warrant for his Murder. He, from the depofal of *Richard*, had declared, that he would serve the King, and told Mr. *Mordaunt*, "that he would perform all Services he could, without making any conditions; and would be well content, that his Majesty, when he came home, should take his head off, if he thought fit; only he desired that the King might know the truth of his Case; which was this."

He was a Gentleman of a good Extraction, and near allied to *Cromwell*, who had drawn him into the Army before, or about the time when he came first to Age, where he grew to be a Colonel of Horse, and to have the Reputation of great Courage against the Enemy, and of equal Civility to all Men. It is very true, he was named amongst those who were appointed to be Judges of the King; and it is as true, that he was never once present with them, always abhorring the Action in his Heart, and having no other Passion in any part of the Quarrel, but his personal kindness to *Cromwell*. The next day after the Horrid Sentence was pronounced, he had an occasion to speak with an Officer, who, he was told, was in the Painted-Chamber; where, when he came thither, he saw *Cromwell*, and the rest of those who had sat upon the King, and were then, as he found afterwards,

affembled to sign the Warrant for the King's death. As soon as *Cromwell's* Eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the Table; and said, "though he had escaped him  
"all the while before, he should now sign that Paper  
"as well as They;" which he, seeing what it was, refused with great Passion; saying, "he knew nothing of the business;" and offered to go away. But *Cromwell*, and others, held him by Violence; and *Cromwell*, with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the Pen between his Fingers, with his own hand writ *Richard Ingoldſby*, he making all the resistance he could: and he said, "if his Name  
"there were compared with what he had ever writ  
"himself, it could never be looked upon as his own  
"hand."

Though his Majesty had within himself compassion for him, he would never send him any assurance of his Pardon; presuming that, if all these Allegations were true, there would be a Season when a distinction would be made, without his Majesty's declaring himself between him and those others of that Bloody List, which he resolved never to Pardon. Nor was *Ingoldſby* at all disheartened with this, but pursued his former Resolutions, and first surpris'd the Castle of *Windſor* (where there was a great Magazine of Arms and Ammunition) and put out that Governor whom the Rump had put in; and afterwards took *Lambert* Prisoner, as is before remembered.

Whilst the Fleet was preparing, Admiral *Mountague* sent his Cousin *Edward Mountague* to the King, to let him know that, as soon as it should be ready, (which

*Mountague's*  
Message to  
the King.

**B O O K** he hoped might be within so many days) he would be  
**XVI.** himself on Board, and would then be ready to receive and obey his Majesty's Orders: this was before the Parliament assembled. He sent word what Officers he was confident of, and of whom he was not assured, and who he concluded would not concur with him, and who must be reduced by force. He desired to know whether the King had any Assurance of the General, who however, he wished, might know nothing of his Resolutions. And it was no small inconvenience to his Majesty, that he was restrained from communicating to either, the confidence he had in the other; which might have facilitated both their designs. But the mutual jealousies between them, and indeed of all Men, would not permit that liberty to his Majesty.

The frequent resort of Persons to *Brussels*, before they knew of the King's being gone to *Breda*, and their Communication of the good News they brought to his Majesty's Servants, and the other *English* who remained there, and who published what they wished as come to pass, as well as what they heard, made the *Spanish* Ministers begin to think, that the King's Affairs were not altogether so hopeless as they imagined them to be, and that there was more in the King's remove to *Breda* than at first appeared. They had every day expected to hear that the States had sent to forbid his Majesty to remain in their Dominions, as they had done when his presence had been less notorious. But when they could hear of no such thing but of greater resort thither to the King, and that he had staid longer there than he had seemed to intend to do,



the Marquis of *Carracena* sent a Person of prime Quality to *Breda*, "to invite his Majesty to return to *Brussels*; the rather, because he had received some very hopeful Propositions from *England*, to which he was not willing to make any Answer, without receiving his Majesty's Approbation and Command."

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The Marquis of Carracena invites the King back to Brussels.

The King sent him word, "that he was obliged, with reference to his business in *England*, to stay where he was; and that he was not without hope that his Affairs might succeed so well, that he should not be necessitated to return to *Brussels* at all." Which Answer the Marquis no sooner received, than he returned the same Messenger with a kind of Expostulation "for the indignity that would be offered to his Catholic Majesty, if he should leave his Dominions in such a Manner; and therefore besought him, either to return himself thither, or that the Duke of *York*, and the Duke of *Glocester*, or at least one of them, might come to *Brussels*, that the world might not believe, that his Majesty was offended with the Catholic King; who had treated him so well." When he found that he was to receive no satisfaction in either of those particulars, though the King, and both the Dukes made their excuses with all possible acknowledgment of the favors they had received from his Catholic Majesty, and of the Civilities showed to them by the Marquis himself, he revenged himself upon *Don Alonzo* with a million of reproaches, "for his stupidity and ignorance in the Affairs of *England*, and of every thing relating thereunto, after having resided sixteen years Ambassador in that Kingdom."

The King's Answer.

The Marquis invites the King again, but in vain.

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Cardinal Mazarin persuades the Queen-Mother of England, to send the Lord Jermyn to invite the King to come into France.

Cardinal *Mazarin* had better Intelligence from the *French Ambassador in London*; who gave him diligent Accounts of every day's alteration, and of the general imagination that *Monk* had other Intentions than he yet discovered. And when he heard that the King was removed from *Brussels* to *Breda*, he presently persuaded the Queen-Mother of *England* to send the Lord *Jermyn* (whom the King had lately, upon his Mother's desire, Created Earl of *St. Albans*) to invite the King "to come into *France*; and to make that Treaty, which, probably, would be between the ensuing Parliament and his Majesty, in that Kingdom; which might prove of great use and advantage to her Majesty's Interest, and Honor; in which the power of the Cardinal might be of great importance in diverting, or allaying any insolent Demands which might be made." And the Cardinal himself made the same Invitation by that Lord, with professions of wonderful kindness; and "that the most Christian King was infinitely desirous to perform all those Offices and Respects to his Majesty, which he had always desired, but was never able to accomplish till Now;" with this Addition, "that if his Majesty found that the expedition of his Affairs would not permit him to come to *Paris*, Order and Preparations should be made for his reception at *Calais*, or any other place he would appoint; where the Queen his Mother would attend him;" with all other expressions of the highest Esteem; which the cunning of that great Minister was plentifully supplied with.

The Earl of *St. Albans* found the King in too good

a posture of hope and expectation, to suffer himself to be much importuned upon the Instances he brought ; and was contented to return with the King's acknowledgments and excuse, " that he could not decently pass through *Flanders*, after he had refused to return to *Brussels* ; and without going through those Provinces, he could not well make a Journey into *France*." In the mean time it was no small pleasure to his Majesty, to find himself so solemnly invited, by the Ministers of these two great Kings, to enter into their Dominions, out of one of which he had been rejected with so many disobligations and indignities ; and with so much caution and apprehension had been suffered to pass through the other, that he might not reside a day there, or spend more time than was absolutely necessary for his Journey.

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The King's  
Answer.

Several Persons now came to *Breda*, not, as heretofore to *Cologne*, and to *Brussels*, under disguises, and in fear to be discovered, but with bare Faces, and the Pride and Vanity to be taken notice of, to present their Duty to the King ; some being employed to procure Pardons for those who thought themselves in danger, and to stand in need of them ; others brought good Presents in *English* Gold to the King, that their Names, and the Names of their Friends, who sent them, might be remembered amongst the first of those who made demonstrations of their Affections that way to his Majesty, by supplying his Necessities ; which had been discontinued for many years to a degree that cannot be believed, and ought not to be remembered. By these Supplies his Majesty was enabled, besides the payment of his other debts,

**B O O K** not only to pay all his Servants the Arrears of their  
**XVI.** Board-Wages, but to give them all some Testimony  
 of his Bounty, to raise their Spirits after so many  
 years of patient waiting for deliverance: and all this  
 was before the delivery of the King's Letter by the  
 General to the Parliament.

The States-  
 General con-  
 gratulate the  
 King's com-  
 ing to Breda,  
 and the States  
 of Holland  
 invite him to  
 the Hague.

The King had not been many days in *Breda*, before  
 the States-General sent Deputies of their own Body  
 to Congratulate his Majesty's Arrival in their Domi-  
 nions, and to acknowledge the great Honor he had  
 vouchsafed to do them. And shortly after, other De-  
 puties came from the States of *Holland*, beseeching  
 his Majesty, "that he would Grace that Province  
 " with his Royal Presence at the *Hague*, where Pre-  
 " parations should be made for his Reception, in  
 " such a manner as would testify the great joy of their  
 " Hearts for the blessings which Divine Providence  
 " was pouring upon his Head." His Majesty accept-  
 ing their invitation, they returned in order to make  
 his Journey thither, and his Entertainment there,  
 equal to their Professions.

In the mean time *Breda* swarmed with *English*, a  
 multitude repairing thither from all other places, as  
 well as *London*, with Presents, and Protestations,  
 " how much they had longed, and prayed for this  
 " blessed Change; and magnifying their Sufferings  
 " under the late Tyrannical Government;" when  
 some of them had been zealous Instruments and Pro-  
 moters of it. The Magistrates of the Town took all  
 imaginable care to express their Devotion to the  
 King, by using all Civilities towards, and providing  
 for the Accommodation of the multitude of his Subj.



jects, who resorted thither to express their Duty to him So that no Man would have imagined by the treatment he now received, that he had been so lately forbid to come into that place; which indeed had not proceeded from the disaffection of the Inhabitants of that good Town, who had always passion for his Prosperity, and even then publicly detested the rudeness of their Superiors, whom they were bound to Obey.

All things being in readiness. and the States having sent their Yachts and other Vessels, for the Accommodation of his Majesty and his Train, as near to *Breda* as the River would permit, the King, with his Royal Sister and Brothers, left that place in the beginning of *May*; and, within an hour, Embarked themselves on Board the Yachts, which carried him to *Rotterdam*; *Dort*, and the other places near which they passed, making all those Expressions of Joy, by the conflux of the People to the banks of the River, and all other ways, which the Situation of those places would suffer. At *Rotterdam* they entered into their Coaches; from whence to the *Hague* they seemed to pass through one continued Street, by the wonderful and orderly appearance of the People on both sides. with such Acclamations of Joy, as if *Themselves* were now restored to Peace and Security.

The Entrance into the *Hague*, and the Reception there, and the Conducting his Majesty to the House provided for his Entertainment, was very magnificent, and in all respects answerable to the Pomp, Wealth, and Greatness of that State. The Treatment of his Majesty, and all who had relation to his Service,

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The King  
removes to  
the Hague.

The King's  
Reception  
and Enter-  
tainment  
there.

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at the States Charge, during the time of his abode there, which continued many days, was incredibly noble and splendid; and the Universal Joy so visible, and real. that it could only be exceeded by that of his own Subjects. The States-General, in a Body, and the States of *Holland*, in a Body apart, performed their Compliments with all Solemnity; and then several Persons, according to their Faculties, made their professions; and a set Number of them was appointed always to wait in the Court, to receive his Majesty's Commands. All the Ambassadors and public Ministers of Kings, Princes, and States, repaired to his Majesty, and professed the Joy of their Masters on his behalf: so that a Man would have thought this Revolution had been brought to pass by the general Combination, and Activity of *Christendom*, that appeared now to take so much pleasure in it.

The English  
Fleet comes  
on the Coast  
of Holland.

The King had been very few days at the *Hague*, when he heard that the *English* Fleet was in sight of *Scheveling*; and shortly after, an Officer from Admiral *Mountague* was sent to the King, to present his Duty to him, and to the Duke of *York* their High-Admiral, to receive Orders. As soon as *Mountague* came on Board the Fleet in the *Downs*, and found *Lawson* and the other Officers more frank in declaring their Duty to the King, and Resolution to serve Him, than he expected, that he might not seem to be sent by the Parliament to his Majesty, but to be carried by his own Affection and Duty, without expecting any Command from Them, the Wind coming fair, he set up his Sails, and stood for the Coast of *Holland*, leaving only two or three of the lesser Ships to receive

their Orders, and to bring over those Persons, who, **B O O K**  
 he knew, were designed to wait upon his Majesty; **XVI.**  
 which Expedition was never forgiven him by some  
 Men; who took all occasions afterwards to revenge  
 themselves upon him.

The Duke of *York* went the next day on Board the **The Duke of**  
 Fleet, to take Possession of his Command; where he **York as**  
 was received by all the Officers and Seamen; with **Admiral**  
 all possible Duty and Submission, and with those Ac- **takes posses-**  
 clamations which are peculiar to that People, and in **sion of the**  
 which they excel. After he had spent the day there, **Fleet.**  
 in receiving Information of the state of the Fleet, and  
 a Catalogue of the Names of the several Ships, his  
 Highness returned with it that Night to the King, **The Ships**  
 that his Majesty might make alterations, and new **new named.**  
 Christen those Ships which too much preserved the  
 memory of the late Governors, and of the Republic.

Shortly after, the Committee of Lords and Com- **The Commit-**  
 mons arrived at the *Hague*; where the States took **tee of Lords**  
 care for their decent Accommodation. And the next **and Commons**  
 day they desired admission to his Majesty; who im- **arrive at the**  
 mediately received them very graciously. From the **Hague.**  
 House of Peers were deputed six of their Body, and,  
 according to custom, twelve from the Commons.  
 The Peers were, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Warwick*, and  
*Middlesex*, the Lord Viscount *Hereford*, the Lord  
*Berkeley* of *Berkeley-Castle*, and the Lord *Brook*. From  
 the Commons were sent, the Lord *Fairfax*, the Lord  
*Bruce*, the Lord *Falkland*, the Lord *Castleton*, the  
 Lord *Herbert*, the Lord *Mandevil*, *Denzil Hollis*, Sir  
*Horatio Townsend*, Sir *Anthony Ashley Cooper*, Sir  
*George Booth*, Sir *John Holland*, and Sir *Henry Chol-*

**B O O K** *meley.* These Persons presented the humble invitation  
**xvi.** and supplication of the Parliament, “that his Majesty  
 “ would be pleased to return, and take the Govern-  
 “ ment of the Kingdom into his hands; where he  
 “ should find all possible Affection, Duty, and Obe-  
 “ dience, from all his Subjects. And lest his return so  
 much longed for might be retarded by the want of  
 Money, to discharge those debts, which he could not  
 but have contracted, they presented from the Parlia-  
 ment the Sum of fifty thousand pounds to his Ma-  
 jesty, having likewise Order to pay the Sum of ten  
 thousand pounds to the Duke of *York*, and five thou-  
 sand to the Duke of *Glocester*; which was a very  
 good Supply to their several Necessities. The King  
 treated all the Committee very graciously together,  
 and every one of them severally and particularly very  
 obligingly. So that some of them, who were con-  
 scious to themselves of their former demerit, were  
 very glad to find that they were not to fear any bit-  
 terness from so Princely, and so generous a Nature.

The City of  
 London send  
 14 of their  
 Citizens.

The City of *London* had had too great a hand in  
 driving the Father of the King from thence, not to  
 appear equally Zealous for his Son's return thither.  
 And therefore they did, at the same time, send four-  
 teen of the most Substantial Citizens “ to assure his  
 “ Majesty of their Fidelity, and most cheerful Sub-  
 “ mission; and that they placed all their Felicity, and  
 “ hope of future Prosperity in the assurance of his  
 “ Majesty's Grace and Protection; for the meriting  
 “ whereof, their Lives and Fortunes should be al-  
 “ ways at his Majesty's disposal;” and they presented  
 to him from the City the Sum of ten thousand  
 pounds.



pounds The King told them, " he had always had a particular Affection for the City of *London*, the place of his Birth; and was very glad, that they had now so good a part in his Restoration; of which he was informed; and how much he was beholding to every one of them;" for which he thanked them very graciously, and Knighted them all; an Honor no Man in the City had received in near twenty years, and with which they were much delighted

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It will hardly be believed, that this Money presented to the King by the Parliament and the City, and charged by Bills of Exchange upon the richest Merchants in *Amsterdam*, who had vast Estates, could not be received in many days, though some of the principal Citizens of *London*, who came to the King, went themselves to solicit it, and had Credit enough themselves for much greater Sums, if they had brought over no Bills of Exchange. But this was not the first time (of which somewhat hath been said before) that it was evident to the King, that it is not easy in that most opulent City, with the help of all the rich Towns adjacent, and upon the greatest Credit, to draw together a great Sum of ready Money; the custom of that Country, which flourishes so much in Trade, being to make their Payments in Paper by Assignations; they having very rarely occasion for a great Sum in any one particular place. And so at this time his Majesty was compelled, that he might not defer the Voyage he so impatiently longed to make, to take Bills of Exchange from *Amsterdam* upon their Correspondents in *London*, for above thirty thousand

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Divers Pres-  
byterian Di-  
vines came  
also.

Their public  
Audience of  
the King.

pounds of the Money that was assigned; all which was paid in *London* as soon as demanded.

With these Commissioners from the Parliament and from the City, there came a Company of their Clergymen, to the Number of eight or ten; who would not be looked upon as Chaplains to the rest, but being the Popular Preachers of the City (*Reynolds, Calamy, Cose Manton*: and others, the most eminent of the Presbyterians) desired to be thought to represent that Party. They intreated to be admitted all together to have a formal Audience of his Majesty; where they presented their Duties, and magnified the Affections of themselves and their Friends; who, they said, "had always, according to the obligation of their Covenant, wished his Majesty very well; and had lately, upon the opportunity that God had put into their hands, informed the People of their Duty; which, they presumed, his Majesty had heard had proved effectual, and been of great use to him." They thanked God "for his Constancy to the Protestant Religion;" and professed, "that they were no Enemies to moderate Episcopacy; only desired that such things might not be pressed upon them in God's Worship, which in their judgment who used them were acknowledged to be matters indifferent, and by others were held unlawful."

The King spoke very kindly to them; and said, "that he had heard of their good behaviour towards him; and that he had no purpose to impose hard Conditions upon them, with reference to their Consciences: that they well knew, he had referred the settling all differences of that Nature to the Wisdom of the Parliament; which best knew what

“ Indulgence and Toleration, was necessary for the **BOOK**  
 “ Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom.” But his Majesty **XVI.**  
 could not be so rid of them; they desired several pri- And their  
 vate Audiences of him; which he never denied; private dis-  
 wherein they told him, “ the Book of Common-Prayer courses also  
 “ had been long discontinued in *England*, and the with him  
 “ People having been disused to it, and many of them  
 “ having never heard it in their Lives, it would be  
 “ much wondered at, if his Majesty should, at his first  
 “ Landing in the Kingdom, revive the use of it in his  
 “ own Chapel; whither all Persons would resort;  
 “ and therefore they besought him, that he would not  
 “ use it entirely and formally, but have only some  
 “ parts of it read, with mixture of other good Prayers,  
 “ which his Chaplains might use.”

The King told them with some warmth, “ that His Majesty's  
 “ whilst he gave Them liberty, he would not have Reply to  
 “ his own taken from him: that he had always used them.  
 “ that form of Service, which he thought the best in  
 “ the world, and had never discontinued it in places  
 “ where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by  
 “ Them: that when he came into *England* he would  
 “ not severely inquire how it was used in other  
 “ Churches though he doubted not, he should find  
 “ it used in many; but he was sure he would have no  
 “ other used in his own Chapel.” Then they besought  
 him with more importunity, “ that the use of the Sur-  
 “ plice might be discontinued by his Chaplains,  
 “ because the sight of it would give great offence, and  
 “ scandal to the People.” They found the King as  
 inexorable in that point as in the other; He told them  
 plainly, “ that he would not be restrained Himself,

**BOOK** “ when he gave others so much liberty ; that it had  
**XVI.** “ been always held a decent habit in the Church,  
 “ constantly practised in *England* till these late ill  
 “ times ; that it had been still retained by him ; and  
 “ though he was bound for the present to tolerate  
 “ much disorder and indecency in the exercise of  
 “ God’s Worship, he would never, in the least degree,  
 “ by his own practice, discountenance the good old  
 “ Order of the Church, in which he had been bred.”

Though they were very much unsatisfied with him, whom they thought to have found more flexible, yet they ceased farther troubling him, in hope, and presumption, that they should find their importunity in *England* more effectual.

After eight or ten days spent at the *Hague* in Triumphs and Festivals, which could not have been more splendid if all the Monarchs of *Europe* had met there, and which were concluded with several rich Presents made to his Majesty, the King took his leave of the States, with all the professions of Amity their Civilities deserved ; and Embarked himself on the *Royal Charles* ; which had been before called the *Naseby*, but had been new Christened the day before, as many others had been, in the presence, and by the order of his Royal Highness the Admiral. Upon the four-and-twentieth day of *May*, the Fleet set Sail ; and, in one continued thunder of Cannon, arrived near *Dover* so early on the six-and-twentieth, that his Majesty disembarked ; and being received by the General at the brink of the Sea (whom he met, and embraced, with great demonstrations of affection) he presently took Coach, and came that Night to *Canterbury* ; where he staid the next day, being *Sunday* ; and went to his

The King  
 embarks for  
 England.  
 And the Fleet  
 for Sail  
 May 24.  
 The King  
 arrives and  
 lands at  
 Dover May 26,  
 and went to  
 Canterbury  
 that Night.



Devotions to the Cathedral, which he found very much dilapidated, and out of repair; yet the People seemed glad to hear the Common-prayer again. Thither came very many of the Nobility, and other Persons of Quality, to present themselves to the King; and there his Majesty assembled his Council; and swore the General of the Council, and Mr. *Morrice*, whom he there Knighted, and gave him the Signet, and swore him Secretary of State. That day his Majesty gave the Garter to the General, and likewise to the Marquis of *Hertford*, and the Earl of *Southampton* (who had been elected many years before) and sent it likewise by *Garter*, Herald and King at Arms, to Admiral *Mountague*, who remained in the *Downs*.

On Monday He went to *Rocheſter*; and the next day, being the nine-and-twentieth of *May*, and his Birth-day, he entered *London*; all the ways thither being ſo full of People, and Acclamations; as if the whole Kingdom had been gathered there. Between *Deptford* and *Southwark* the Lord Mayor and Aldermen met him, with all ſuch Proteſtations of joy as can hardly be imagined. The concourſe was ſo great, that the King rode in a crowd from the Bridge to *White-Hall*; all the Companies of the City ſtanding in order on both ſides, and giving loud thanks to God for his Majesty's preſence. He no ſooner came to *White-Hall*, but the two Houſes of Parliament ſolemnly caſt themſelves at his Feet, with all vows of affection and fidelity to the world's end. In a word, the Joy was ſo unexpreſſible, and ſo univerſal, that his Majesty ſaid ſmilingly to ſome about him, "he doubted it had been his own fault he had been abſent ſo long; for

B O O K  
XVI.

May 29 He  
came thro'  
the City to  
White-Hall.

Where the  
two Houſes  
waited on  
him.

BOOK " he saw no body that did not protest, he had ever  
XVI. " wished for his Return."

The Conclusion of the whole History.

In this wonderful manner, and with this incredible expedition, did God put an end to a Rebellion that had raged near twenty Years, and been carried on with all the horrid circumstances of Murder, Devastation, and Parricide, that Fire and Sword, in the hands of the most wicked Men in the world, could be Instruments of; almost to the desolation of two Kingdoms, and the exceeding defacing and deforming the third.

It was but five Months, since *Lambert's* Fanatical Army was scattered and confounded, and General *Monk's* marched into *England*: it was but three Months, since the seclused Members were restored; and, shortly after, the monstrous long Parliament finally dissolved, and rooted up: it was but a Month, since the King's Letters and Declaration were delivered to the New Parliament, afterwards called the *Convention*: on the first of *May* they were delivered, and his Majesty was at *White-Hall* on the 29<sup>th</sup> of the same Month.

By these remarkable Steps, among others, did the merciful hand of God, in this short space of time, not only bind up and heal all those wounds, but even make the Scars as undiscernible, as, in respect of the deepness, was possible; which was a glorious addition to the Deliverance. And, after this miraculous Restoration of the Crown, and the Church, and the just Rights of Parliaments, no Nation under Heaven can ever be more happy, if God shall be pleased to add Establishment and Perpetuity to the Blessings he then restored.

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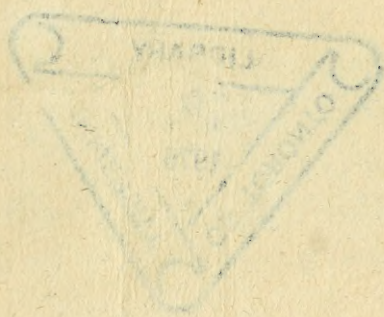
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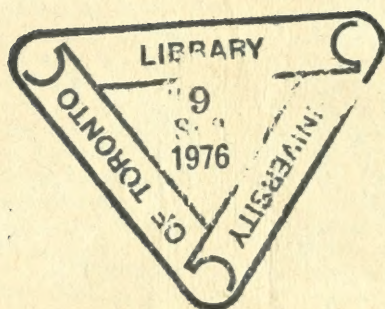
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